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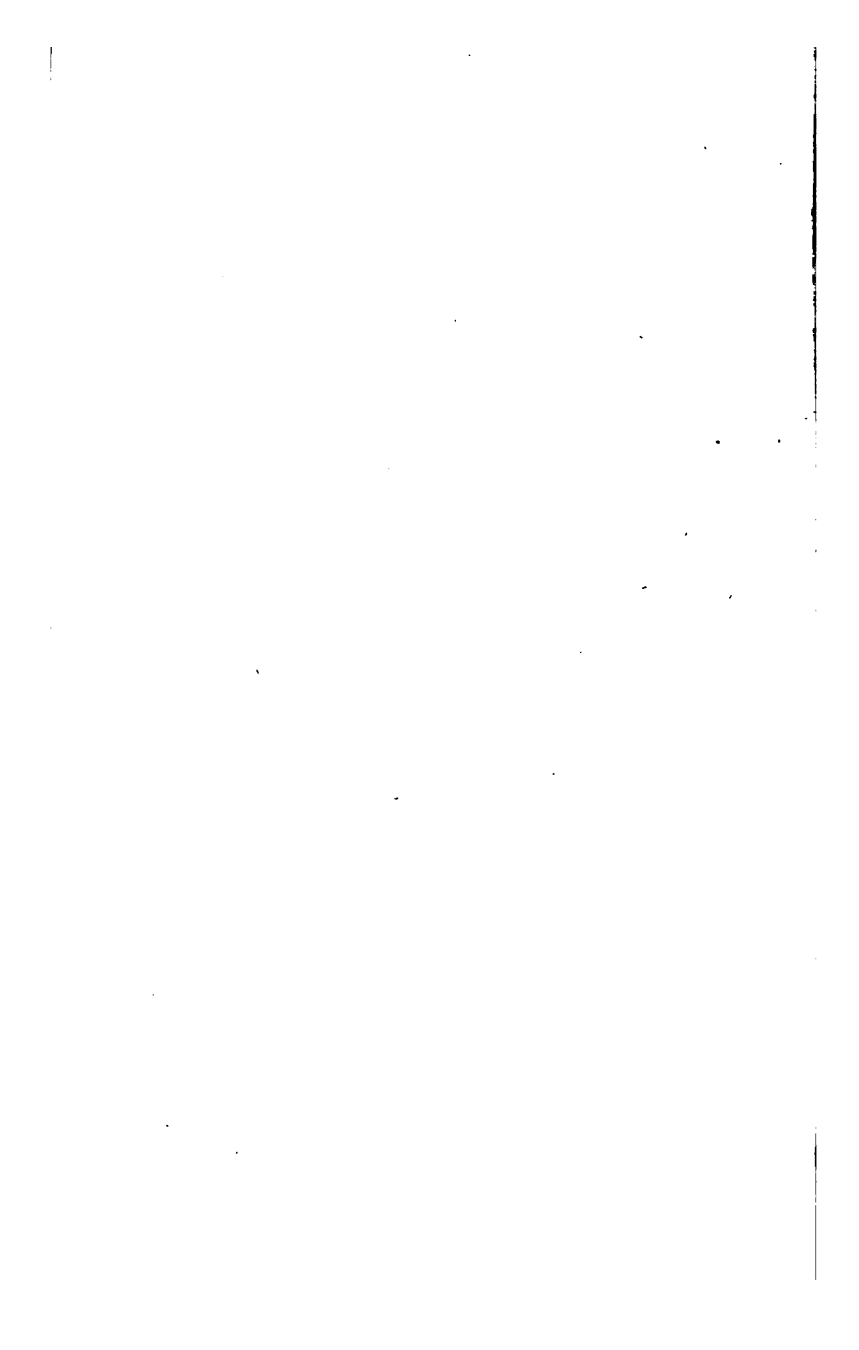
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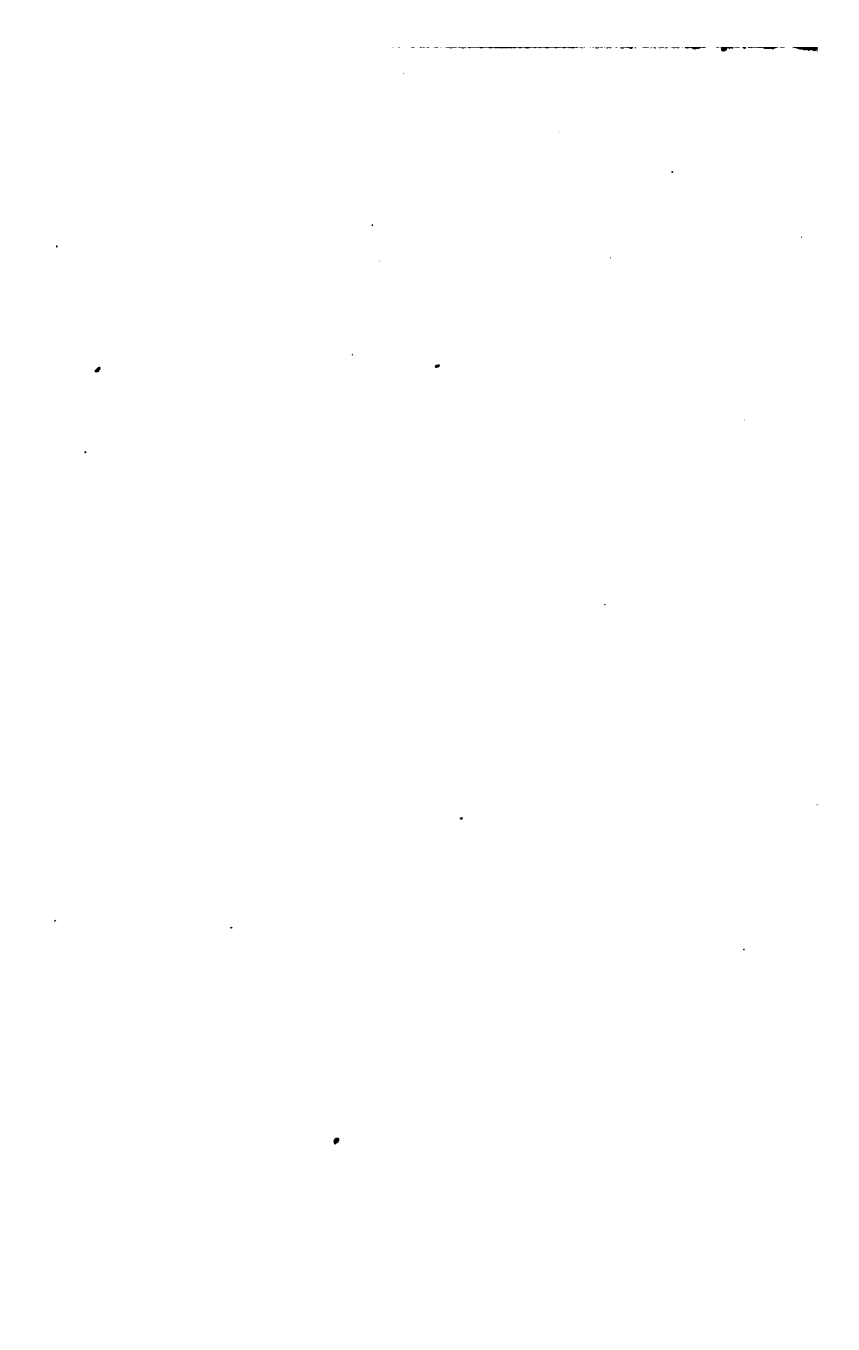
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VOL. IX.
WORKS OF SIR THOMAS MORE.



"He seeketh out the wisdom of the ancient, and keepeth the sayings of the renowned men."

BOSTON:
HILLIARD, GRAY, AND CO.

M DCCC XXXIV.

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*Mrs. Waldo O. Ross,
Boston*

Out of the olde fieldes, as men saithe,
Cometh all this newe corn fro yere to yere;
And out of olde bookes, in good faithe,
Cometh all this newe science that men lere.
CHAUCER.

BOSTON:
J. D. FREEMAN, PRINTER.

U T O P I A :
AND
HISTORY OF KING RICHARD III.

BY SIR THOMAS MORE.

**WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR
AND HIS WRITINGS.**



BOSTON:
HILLIARD, GRAY, AND CO.

M DCCC XXXIV.

"THOMÆ MORI ingenio quid unquam finxit Natura
vel mollius, vel dulcius, vel felicius? ingenio quale An-
glia nec habuit unquam, nec habitura est, alioquin nequa-
quam infelicium ingeniorum parens."

ERASMUS.

"Sir THOMAS MORE,—one of the greatest prodigies
of wit and learning that this nation ever before his time
produced."

ANTHONY WOOD.

"I had the honor to have much conversation with
Brutus; and was told that his ancestor Junius, Socrates,
Epaminondas, Cato the younger, Sir THOMAS MORE,
and himself, were perpetually together;—a sextumvi-
rate, to which all the ages of the world cannot add a
seventh."

SWIFT.

"It will be difficult to point out any man like MORE
since the death of Boëthius, the last sage of the ancient
world. He was the first Englishman who signalized
himself as an orator, the first writer of a prose which is
still intelligible, and the first who wrote the history of
his country in its present language."

Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

Of the voluminous writings of "the father of English prose," the two works contained in this volume are the only ones that can be regarded as of much interest or value at the present day. It was unfortunate for the world as well as for the fame of this great man, that his pen was chiefly employed on topics of a local and temporary nature, on the dry, dull themes of polemical divinity. The bulky black-letter folio, of 1458 pages, printed in 1557, which contains his English works, consists almost entirely of long, tedious tracts on the Catholic controversy, written against the English reformers, Tindal and Frith. To disturb the repose in which these papers have slumbered for nearly three centuries, would be a thankless and unprofitable task.*

* A copy of this very rare volume, the only one probably in this country, may be seen in the Library of the Boston Athenæum.

It is on the "Utopia," that the fame of Sir Thomas More, as a writer, must principally rest. Although it was originally written in Latin, the present translation, by bishop Burnet, is of itself entitled to a place among the standard works of old English prose.

The "History of King Richard the Third," though but a fragment, is exceedingly valuable and interesting as being the original chronicle of that troublous and tragical reign. It is also the earliest specimen of English prose that is intelligible, and is uncommonly free from obsolete phraseology. To obviate, however, any difficulty on this ground, a Glossary is appended, which has been prepared expressly for this edition.

The appearance of this volume has been delayed for nearly a year by the Editor's absence from the country. The regular publication of the Library is now resumed, and, should the public demand it, a volume will appear, as heretofore, once in three months.

ALEXANDER YOUNG.

BOSTON, MARCH 1, 1834.

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SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
SIR THOMAS MORE.*

SIR THOMAS MORE was born in Milk-street, London, in 1480, five years before the accession of Henry VII. to the throne. His father, Sir John More, one of the judges of the court of King's Bench, a man of acute wit and sound understanding, took due precautions that the early indications of genius, which he perceived in his son, should not languish for want of cultivation. In the first rudiments of education he was instructed at a free grammar school in Threadneedle-street.

* This life of More is extracted from Macdiarmid's "Lives of British Statesmen." Those who would know more concerning him are referred to the interesting biographies written by his son-in-law, Roper, and his great-grandson, More. The latest, and on many accounts the best Life of our author, was written by Sir James Mackintosh, and is contained in Lardner's Cyclopaedia, Vol. I. of "Eminent British Statesmen."

As a further step in his education, More was afterwards placed in the family of cardinal Morton; and at the age of seventeen, was sent, at the instance of his zealous patron the cardinal, to Oxford. After having passed two years at Oxford, he removed, first to New Inn, and afterwards to Lincoln's Inn, to prosecute the study of the law; and no sooner did he appear at the bar, than he began to practise with flattering prospects of success.

Before he had attained his twenty-third year, More, having been chosen a member of the House of Commons, had an opportunity of still more distinguishing himself. Henry having required from parliament a large contribution, for the marriage of his eldest daughter with the king of Scotland, the demand, whether from its magnitude, or the purposes to which it was to be applied, proved extremely unpopular with the Commons; yet, from a just dread of the king's resentment, the measure seemed likely to pass in silence; when More, incapable of being deterred by any sense of personal danger from executing what he accounted his duty, boldly stood forward to oppose the requisition; and, reasoning with such eloquence and strength of argument as to rouse the courage of his colleagues, finally procured its rejection. This display of patriotism and fortitude, at his first entrance into public life, while it greatly increased his reputation, seemed in danger of drawing down his ruin; for Henry could not hear without the utmost indignation, that his avarice had been disappointed, and his authority thwarted, at the instigation of a youth distinguished by no

rank or hereditary influence. His want of fortune, however, on this occasion proved the safety of the young patriot ; for it was a maxim with Henry, to make his revenge, if possible, subservient to his avarice ; and, as the present object of his resentment had nothing to lose, he was less willing to risk a public clamor by directly violating the privileges of the commons. But, that More might be sensible of his displeasure, and be deterred from a similar opposition in future, he contrived to fasten some groundless accusation on his father, Sir John More, and caused him to be shut up in the Tower, till he purchased his liberty, by paying for his pretended offence a fine of one hundred pounds. Henry was not, however, of a temper to be satisfied with this indirect revenge ; and More, although he dexterously eluded the arts practised to draw from him some confessions, which might afford a color for his accusation, yet well knew the folly of openly contending with this implacable tyrant. His first thoughts were, to avoid the danger by going abroad ; and with this view he studied the French language : but although he laid aside this intention, he found it necessary to give up his practice at the bar, and live in complete retirement.

The death of Henry the VII. which happened about six years afterwards, enabling him to resume his practice at the bar, his talents and acquirements soon raised him to eminent distinction. His reputation for integrity, ability, and learning, attracted the attention of Henry VIII. who was eager to engage him in his service, and commanded Wolsey to

make this wish known, and proffer a pension, as an earnest of future favors. But this proposal, which most other men would have fondly embraced, as a fair opening to wealth and honors, was viewed with very different eyes by More.

The ability displayed in the management of a cause, which attracted much public notice, gave an additional lustre to More's reputation. A large ship, belonging to the Pope, having been seized, in the port of Southampton, by the king's officers, was reclaimed on the part of his Holiness; and More, on account both of his professional celebrity, and his thorough acquaintance with the Latin, which rendered him able readily to explain the arguments, on both sides, to the Roman legate, was selected to plead in favor of the restoration. His exertions in support of the claim, which was argued before the lord chancellor and all the judges, in the Star-chamber, were crowned with success; and Henry, still more inclined by this new display of talents to engage him in his service, would no longer admit of any excuse. He was appointed master of the requests, the best place which, at the moment, happened to be vacant. He was afterwards created a knight and a privy counsellor, and, in the following year, raised to the office of treasurer of the exchequer.

After holding the treasurership of the exchequer three years, he was, by the king's direction, chosen speaker of the House of Commons. Having attended Wolsey in his embassy to France in 1527, he acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of Hen-

ry, as to be rewarded, on his return, with the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster. Two years afterwards, we find him employed, in conjunction with his much esteemed friend, Tunstall, bishop of Durham, to assist at the famous negotiations at Cambray.

More having acted his part in this negotiation to the king's entire satisfaction, had returned to court; and Henry having now, by the fall of Wolsey, the chancellorship at his disposal, gladly seized the opportunity of showing his regard for More by conferring on him this high office. No appointment could have been more popular, since no one stood so high in the public opinion for integrity, industry, and experience, both in legal and political business.

While More continued to execute the office of chancellor with great honor to himself, Henry's impatience for the completion of his divorce from Catharine became every day more urgent. Finding that the court of Rome seemed resolved to put off the decision of his suit as long as possible, without any assurance that the verdict would, at length, be favorable to his wishes, he began to look for some other authority to justify the measures towards which he was impelled by his passions. At the suggestion of Cranmer, afterwards primate of England, he sent to consult the learned, in the most celebrated seats of literature throughout Europe, on the question of his marriage with Catharine; and several of the foreign universities, more impressed with the criminality of the connexion than with the dispensing power of the Pope, gave their verdict without

hesitation, against its legality. Oxford and Cambridge (though their apprehensions of the consequences to the Catholic religion made them for some time withhold their opinions) were, at length, brought to concur in the same decision.

In 1532, More, finding the bills for Henry's divorce and supremacy were likely to pass with the parliament; yet, while he was only anxious to bury his opinions in his own breast, he knew that, in his official station, even silence would be construed into disapprobation. As the only means, therefore, by which he could at once preserve his integrity, and present no obstruction to the intended measures, he earnestly tendered his resignation to the king. But to this request Henry could, at first, by no means be prevailed upon to listen. More at length, partly by his own repeated solicitations, and partly by the intercession of the duke of Norfolk, who was then in high favor at court, at length procured the acceptance of his resignation.

An act was passed in the next session of parliament, which declared the king's marriage with Catharine to be unlawful and void, ratified his marriage with Anne, and fixed the inheritance of the crown, first in her issue, and afterwards in the king's legal heirs. The same act commanded an oath to be taken in support of its provisions, under the penalty of misprision of treason; while all who should speak or write against the king's marriage with Anne were declared to be traitors. This oath, greatly extended beyond the meaning of the act, was administered to those who, from their rank and

influence, could considerably promote or obstruct the settlement of the crown. Henry lost no time in requiring the obedience of More, expecting that the penalties annexed to the refusal of the oath would effectually enforce the arguments which had so often been urged in vain. At a committee of the cabinet council at Lambeth, he declared that he had no objection to swear to the prescribed order of succession; since he considered the parliament as fully entitled to regulate the matter in any way which it thought proper; and to this effect he offered to take an oath, drawn up by himself. But the terms of the oath, as they at present stood, he declared to be irreconcilable to his conscience, since they asserted the illegality of the king's first marriage and the legality of his second. Many arguments and solicitations were employed by his friends to overcome his scruples; but, though much affected by the earnest entreaties of Cranmer, the primate, and Cromwell, secretary of state, who highly esteemed and loved him, he adhered to his resolution in spite of his feelings, and, in a gentle, but firm manner, persisted in his refusal. Archbishop Cranmer earnestly contended that his proposal of swearing distinctly to maintain the order of succession should be accepted, without confining him to the prescribed terms of the oath. But Henry, whose resentment was now rendered wholly ungovernable by resistance, resolved that More should either yield or perish; and insisted that the penalties of the statute should be enforced, and that he should be immediately committed to the Tower.

After having been imprisoned in the Tower upwards of a year, he was at length brought to trial; and here he proved, that if he was unmoved at the approach of death, his indifference was no wise allied to the carelessness of despair. Although obliged to support himself on a staff, from the weakness contracted during his rigorous confinement, yet his countenance, firm, composed, and animated, showed how fully his mind was collected, and how well his faculties were prepared to support him in a vigorous defence. The charges exhibited against him proved, by their weakness, and the harsh terms in which they were couched, the eagerness of the court to accomplish his ruin.

The firmest conviction of his innocence could not be expected to outweigh, with his judges, the hopes of royal favor and the imminent danger of their lives. Almost without deliberation, and as if the minds of the jury had been fully made up beforehand, he was declared guilty of high treason and condemned to die as a traitor! After hearing the sentence pronounced without any sign of surprise or indignation, he shortly addressed himself to the court, which consisted of a select commission of peers and judges. "My lords," said he, "I have nothing further to add, but that as the blessed apostle Paul was present and consented unto the death of Stephen, and yet both are now holy saints in heaven, where they shall continue in friendship forever, so I earnestly trust and pray, that, though your lordships have now been judges, on earth, to my condemnation, we may yet all meet together in everlasting love and happiness."

On his return from Westminster Hall to the Tower, his fortitude had to undergo a severer trial. His favorite daughter, Margaret, apprehending that this might be the last opportunity of seeing her beloved father, had stationed herself at the Tower wharf, where he would necessarily pass: but when he appeared in sight, with the axe, the emblem of condemnation, borne before him, her feelings could no longer be controlled: regardless of the spectators, she burst through the crowd, and through the guards which surrounded him, and, clinging round his neck, hung upon him in an agony of despair, while the tears streamed from her eyes; the only words that could force an utterance were, "My father! oh, my father!" More, while he pressed her to his heart, endeavoured to calm her agitation: he reminded her, that she well knew all the secrets of his soul; that the knowledge of his innocence ought to lessen her dismay at his approaching fate; and that resignation was due to the will of God, without whose permission none of these events could take place. At length she made an effort to recover herself, and, faintly bidding him adieu, suffered the attendants to lead her away. But she had proceeded only a few paces, when the thought that she had seen her father for the last time, rushed with irresistible poignancy on her mind. She again burst through the crowd, again hung upon his neck, and gave way to all the bitterness of anguish. Her father, though his mind had long been prepared to meet his fate, and though its approach had been wholly unable to discompose his fortitude, could not look unmoved on her dis-

tress; and a tear, which stole down his cheek, betrayed the emotion which he struggled to conceal. The spectators, deeply affected, beheld this tender scene in silence; and even the guards could not refrain from tears, while they gently forced her from the arms of her father.

His condemnation had taken place on the 1st of June; and on the 6th of the same month, Sir Thomas Pope, one of his particular friends, came very early in the morning, by the king's command, to acquaint him that his execution was to take place that day at nine o'clock. More thanked his friend for the good news; and observing he was deeply affected with the painful commission which he had been obliged to execute, he endeavoured to convince him, by the gaiety of his conversation, how little his lot was to be lamented; and, when his friend could not refrain from weeping bitterly at parting, he reminded him, with a look of exultation, that the interval could not be long before they should meet in eternal felicity.

As he passed along to the place of execution on Tower hill, the sympathy of the spectators was expressed by silence and tears. One man alone, from among the crowd, was heard to reproach him with a decision which he had given against him in chancery. More, no wise discomposed by this ill-timed expression of resentment, calmly replied, that, if it were still to do, he would give the same decision.

His behaviour on the scaffold corresponded to the whole tenor of his conduct; perfectly composed and collected, and dying in harmony with all mankind, his countenance was unaffectedly cheerful, and his

words expressed a mind well at ease. Perceiving that the scaffolding was weakly erected, he said, in his usual tone, to the attending officer, "I pray thee, friend, see me safely up, and, for my coming down, let me shift for myself." Observing the executioner pale and trembling, he said to him, "Pluck up thy spirits, man, and be not afraid to do thy office: my neck is very short; see, therefore, that thou do not mar thy credit by cutting awry." Having spent a short time in devotion, he took the napkin with which his eyes were to be bound, and calmly performed that office for himself: then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay, till he removed his beard; "for it," said he, "has committed no treason."

Thus perished Sir Thomas More, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, deeply lamented by all who knew his worth, and admired even by his enemies. By those who knew him best, and who shared his intimate friendship, his loss was bewailed as an irreparable calamity. "More is dead!" says Erasmus, in the accents of despondency, "More! whose breast was purer than snow, whose genius was excellent above all his nation."

The best account of More's private life and character is contained in the following letter of his friend, Erasmus.

"You are by no means singular, most excellent Hutten, in the enthusiasm with which the writings of Thomas More have inspired you for his genius. Nothing, as you justly observe, can be more full of

learning or of humor. Your admiration too is not without a return on the part of More; for he is so delighted with the style of your writings, that even I almost envy you. This is in truth that most amiable philosophy of Plato, which kindles a much more ardent passion among men than any beauty of form however admirable. It is not, indeed, perceived by the natural eyes; but the mind has its eyes also. So that here too the Greek adage holds true, 'Love comes from seeing.' By these eyes persons are sometimes joined in the closest affection, who have never interchanged a word or a look. And as it is commonly the case, from causes not to be explained, that one form attracts one person, and another another, so between minds there seems to be a certain secret relation, which makes us exceedingly delighted with some, and not at all with others.

"With respect to your request, that I would paint you as it were a full length portrait of More, I wish I could do it with a skill corresponding with the earnestness of your desires. For to me it would be highly agreeable to spend the time in the contemplation of the most charming friend on earth. But, in the first place, it is not in the power of every one thoroughly to understand the qualities of More; and in the next, I know not whether he would like to be taken by every artist that comes along. Nor, indeed, do I think it an easier task to paint him, than Alexander or Achilles; nor are they more worthy of immortality. Such a subject absolutely demands the hand of an Apelles; though I am afraid I shall resemble Fulvius rather, or Rutuba. I will, how-

ever, endeavour to give you a sketch, more properly than a finished picture, of the whole man ; as far as a long and intimate acquaintance has enabled me to observe or recollect. But if, at any future period, some foreign embassy shall bring you acquainted with him, you will then perceive what an unfaithful workman you have selected, and I fear you will accuse me either of envy or blindness, when, out of so many fine traits, I have seen or been willing to present you so few.

“To begin on the side on which More is least known to you ;—in size he is far from being tall, yet one would not observe upon his shortness. The proportion of his limbs is so excellent, you can discover no fault in it. He has a fair skin, his face inclining to whiteness more properly than paleness, not ruddy, only a delicate color every where shining through ; his hair brownish yellow, or if you choose, yellowish brown ; beard thin ; eyes greyish with specks ; which kind denotes a very happy disposition, and with the English is even accounted lovely ; though our countrymen are most pleased with black eyes. No species, it is said, is so free from defects. His countenance corresponds to his disposition, always exhibiting a pleasing and friendly good humor, sometimes made up for laughing ; and to say the truth, he is better fitted for fun, than for gravity or dignity ; although he has nothing of silliness or buffoonery. His right shoulder seems to be a little higher than his left, especially when he walks. This is not natural to him, but arises from habit, which makes many things of this kind adhere to us.

In the rest of his person there is nothing to criticise only his hands are a little clumsy, at least when you compare them with the other parts of his body.

“He was always from a boy very careless of every thing relating to the adorning of his person; so much so, that he paid little attention even to those things which Ovid says are the only ones which men should regard. Of the beauty of his youth it is easy to form an opinion from the remains; indeed he was a young man, not more than twenty-three, when I first knew him; for he is not much above forty now. His health you would hardly call robust; it is sufficient, however, to enable him to go through all the duties belonging to a good citizen, and is subject to none or very few disorders. There is a prospect that he will be long lived, as his father is quite advanced in years and is still fresh and vigorous. I never saw any one less difficult in the choice of his food. He drank water till he was grown up, in which he copied after his father. But lest he should give any one uneasiness, he used to cheat his guests and drink beer very much diluted, and sometimes pure water out of an earthen mug. As it is the custom there to pledge one another, he now and then just sipped the wine, that he might not appear to have an utter aversion to it, and at the same time, that he might accustom himself to things in common use. Beef, salt meat, bread of an inferior quality and much fermented, he preferred to those dishes which are generally considered as dainties. In other respects he was not disinclined to any thing which affords pleasure, whether to the mind or the senses. Dishes

in which milk is an ingredient, and fruits were grateful to his appetite ; eggs he esteems a great delicacy.

“His voice is neither powerful nor very slender, but easily heard, and not shrill and effeminate. It is manifestly a voice for speaking only ; for nature seems not to have made him a singer, although he is delighted with every sort of music. His speech is wonderfully distinct and articulate, not rapid nor hesitating. He is plain in his dress, and never wears silk or purple or gold chains, except when it would be a breach of decorum not to put them on. It is surprising how careless he is of ceremonies which common people are apt to think constitute politeness. As he does not exact them from any one, so he is not very scrupulous to observe them himself, neither in the ordinary intercourse with men nor at table ; although he is not ignorant of them, when he chooses. But he thinks it effeminate and unworthy of a man to consume time in trifles of this sort.

“Formerly he kept himself aloof from court, and the familiarity of princes, because he was particularly inimical to arrogance and fond of equality ; for, indeed, you will find scarcely any court so well regulated as to be free from clamor and intrigue and hypocrisy and luxury and claims of superiority. Henry VIII. was able, not without great difficulty, to draw him to his court, although no one would desire a prince more condescending and well bred.

“By nature More is rather fond of his ease ; but as he indulges his inclination when opportunity pre-

sents, so when business demands his attention, no one is more active and persevering. He seems to have been born and fashioned for friendship, in which he is very sincere and constant. He is not afraid of the *πολυφιλία* which Hesiod discommends. He is open to the acquaintance of any one, not difficult in his choice, forward and constant in cherishing and preserving friendship. If he lights upon any person whose faults he cannot mend, he withdraws from his society as occasion permits, letting his friendship die a natural death, not using violence. When he finds any sincere and congenial to his disposition, he is so charmed with their company and conversation that they seem to constitute his chief happiness. For to billiards, dice, cards, and other games, with which the herd of great folks are wont to beguile the tedious hours, he has not the least inclination. In his own affairs he is somewhat negligent; but, in taking care of the business of his friends, no one can be more attentive. In a word, if any one seek for a perfect pattern of friendship, he will find none better than More.

“In society he has so much affability and sweetness of manners, that there is no person of the severest disposition that he does not enliven, no business so appalling that he does not dissipate its irksomeness. From a boy he was so much delighted with jests, that he seemed born for them, but he never indulged in buffoonery nor detraction. When a youth, he wrote and acted little comedies. If any one ever said any thing smart, he was always pleas-

ed with it, even though the observation were directed against himself, so fond is he of whatever is witty and savours of genius. Whence he used to make epigrams when a young man, and was particularly pleased with Lucian, and what is more, he set me to writing 'The Praise of Folly,' which to be sure is pretty much like making a camel dance. Nothing occurs among men, even in the most serious affairs, in which he does not hunt for entertainment. If he has to do with men of learning and ability, he is charmed with their talents; if with the ignorant and fools, he enjoys their folly. He is not displeased with the professed jesters of great men, accommodating himself with wonderful facility to the feelings of all. With women, commonly, and even with his wife, he is always laughing and cracking jokes. You would say he was another Democritus, or rather, that Pythagorean philosopher, who used to saunter in the market, speculating upon the bustle of buyers and sellers. No one is less swayed by the opinion of the multitude, and on the other hand, no one adheres more closely to common sense.

"He takes a peculiar pleasure in observing the forms and habits and affections of the different animals; there is scarcely any species of bird which he does not keep at his house; so of any rare animal, as the ape, fox, weasel, ferret, and the like. And if he meets besides with any thing foreign or otherwise curious, he purchases it with great eagerness. Every corner of his house is so filled with these things, that no one can enter without finding

something to gaze at, and More's delight is renewed as often as he sees others entertained.

"He was instructed in the rudiments of learning in his earliest years. In his youth he applied himself to Greek literature and the study of philosophy, in which his father, otherwise a sensible and excellent man, was so far from favoring him, that he left him destitute of all assistance, and was almost tempted to disinherit him, because he was unwilling to devote himself to his own profession, which was that of a practiser of the laws of England. This profession, as it is wholly foreign to literature, so with the English, those who acquire influence by it are reckoned among the greatest and most distinguished men, and scarcely any road leads so directly to wealth and honors; for this study has laid the foundation of most of the noble families in that island. They hold that no person can be a thoroughbred lawyer without toiling many years. Wherefore, although his young mind, born for better things, had some reason to be disgusted with these dry studies, yet, after tasting of literature, he became so well versed in the law that litigants consulted no one with more willingness, and no lawyer, who attended to nothing besides his profession, had a more lucrative practice. So great was the force and activity of his mind.

"In addition to all this, he bestows no small labor upon the volumes of the orthodox divines. He had hardly arrived at manhood, when he read public lectures to a full audience upon the books of St. Austin '*De Civitate Dei*;' and it was neither dis-

reputable nor unprofitable for priests and old men to learn sacred truths from a youth and a layman. At this time, he gave his whole mind to religion, preparing himself by vigils and fastings and prayers for the office of a priest. In which he was not much wiser than most of those who rashly enter upon so arduous a profession without any previous trial of themselves. Nothing prevented him from adopting this course of life, except that he found it impossible to shake off his desire of being married; so he chose to be a chaste husband rather than an incontinent priest.

“He married into a family of distinction. He selected a woman who was young and untaught, (having always lived with her parents and sisters in the country,) in order that he might mould her to his own notions. He had her instructed in letters and in every kind of music, and formed her in such a manner that he would have been well satisfied to spend his life with her, had he not been deprived of her by her premature death. He had several children by her, of whom three girls are living, Margaret, Heloise, and Cecilia, and a son named John. He could not endure to remain long a widower, although his friends so advised him. In a few months after the burial of his wife, he married a widow, more for the sake of taking care of his family than for pleasure; for she was not handsome, and no chicken, as he himself used merrily to say; but she was a notable housewife. He lives with her, however, just as pleasantly as if she were the most lovely creature in the world. Seldom does any hus-

band obtain so much obsequiousness from his wife by authority and severity, as he by his caresses and pleasantries. For what may he not accomplish, after he has effected that a wife, already verging towards old age, and not the most pliable for such a purpose, and very attentive besides to her affairs, should learn to play on the harp, the lute, the monochord, and the flageolet, and every day perform a task on them at his requisition? In the same gentle manner he governs all his family; no bustle, no scolding. If any difficulty arises, he finds means to remove it. He never let any one leave him with feelings of enmity on either side. A felicity, decreed by fate, seems attached to his house, in which no one ever lived who was not advanced to better fortune; in which no one ever contracted a stain upon his reputation. We seldom meet with persons who live in such harmony with their mothers as he did with his stepmother—for his father had already married a second wife—each of them he loved like his own mother. And now lately his father is married to a third; and More swears upon his honor he never saw a better. Towards his parents and children and sisters, his behaviour is neither troublesome from importunate kindness, nor wanting in the offices of affection. His mind is entirely free from sordid love of money. He lays up for his children out of his income such a sum as he thinks will be sufficient for them, and the residue he generously expends.

“While he practised at the bar, he gave every person correct and friendly advice, with an eye to their

advantage, and not his own. Many he used to persuade to settle their disputes, telling them it would cost them less. If he did not succeed, (for there are some who like to be engaged in lawsuits,) he then told them in what way they might contend at the least expense. In London, his native city, he acted for many years as a judge in civil causes; which office required very little labor (for the court was held only on Thursdays in the forenoon) and was very honorable. No judge despatched more causes, or conducted himself with stricter integrity. He frequently gave back the money which suitors are bound by usage to pay; for before every trial the plaintiff lays down three groats, and the defendant the like sum, and it is illegal to exact any more. By this behaviour he has rendered himself very dear to his fellow citizens. He had determined to rest satisfied with this situation, which was sufficiently respectable, and not exposed to great hazards.

“More than once, was he compelled to go upon embassies — in which he displayed so much ability, that the most serene Henry VIII. would not be contented until he had dragged him to court. I say dragged, because no one was ever more solicitous to gain admittance than he to avoid it. But when that excellent king designed to fill his cabinet with men of learning and wisdom and virtue, among others he sent for More in particular, with whom he is so intimate that he never lets him go from him. If business is to be transacted, no one is a better counsellor; and if the king chooses to unbend his mind

by pleasant conversation, no companion is more agreeable.

"Difficult causes frequently require a judge of great authority and discreetness. More manages them so skilfully, that both the parties feel under obligations to him. He never was prevailed upon to take a bribe. Happy for the people, if the prince always appointed magistrates like More. Nor has any haughtiness followed in the train of these honors. In the midst of this throng of affairs he remembers his humble old friends, and often recurs to his favorite letters. All the influence he derives from his dignity and the favor of a munificent prince, he uses for the public good and the benefit of his friends. His disposition always inclined him to confer favors, and was wonderfully turned to kindness; and he shows it the more, now his means of gratifying it are increased. To one he gives pecuniary aid; another he protects by his authority; another he advances by his recommendation. And to those, whom he can assist in no other way, he gives good advice; so that no one ever leaves him with a sad countenance. More may be called the patron of all the poor. He accounts it a great gain if he has been able to relieve the oppressed, to extricate the perplexed and embarrassed, to restore the alienated to favor. He bestows a kindness with the utmost willingness and never reminds one of it. Although he is perfectly happy with so many debtors, and felicity is apt to be attended by vain glory, yet I never saw a man more free from this fault.

"I return to the mention of the studies which

chiefly conciliated the mutual affection between More and myself. In the early part of his life he attended most to writing verse; afterwards he labored a long time to render his prose more harmonious, trying his hand at every style of composition; with what success, it is needless to say,—to you especially, who have his works perpetually in your hands. He was particularly fond of disputations, and for these he preferred paradoxical subjects, because they gave greater scope for ingenuity. Hence, when he was but a lad, he undertook a dialogue, in which he even defended Plato's community of wives. He answered Lucian's *Tyrranicide*, in which argument he wished me to oppose him, in order that he might make a more satisfactory experiment of his proficiency. He published the *Utopia* for the purpose of pointing out inconveniencies in government, with a particular reference, however, to the British constitution, which he understands thoroughly. The second book was composed first in a period of leisure; he afterwards wrote the first book in haste, as occasion served. Hence there is some inequality in the style. In extempore speaking he is very happy. His invention is prompt and always anticipating; his memory ready,—which, as it has every thing numbered,—if I may use the expression,—suggests at once whatever the time or subject demands. In controversies he is exceedingly acute, so that he frequently gives trouble to the ablest theologians, even when contending on subjects belonging to their own province. John Colet, a man of shrewd and correct judgment, often says in conver-

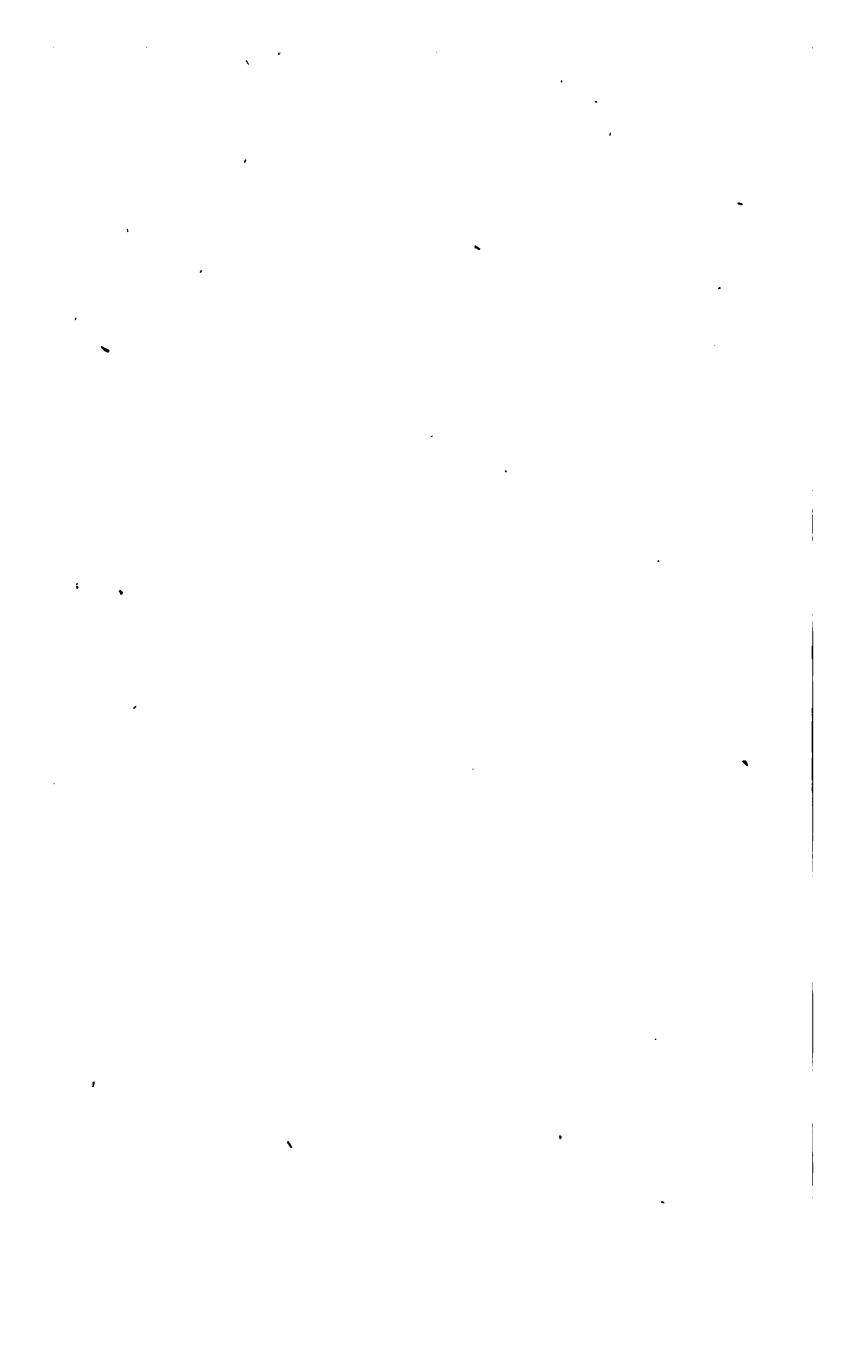
sation, that Britain possesses but a single genius; though fine geniuses abound in that island.

"He cultivates true piety with assiduity, but he detests all superstition. He has stated hours, in which he offers prayers to God, which come from the heart, and are not a mere ceremony. With his friends he discourses of a future life in such a manner, that you may know he speaks from his soul, and not without the best hope. Such is More, even in a court. And yet there are some who think christians are no where to be found but in a monastery.

"You here have a copy from a most excellent original, poorly drawn by a very bad artist. It will please you the less, if you should ever become acquainted with More. But I have taken care that you shall not accuse me of disobedience, nor always reproach me for the shortness of my letters. Although this one has not seemed long to me while writing it—and I know it will not be tedious to you when you read it—which is all owing to the charm of our friend."

ANTWERP, JULY 23, 1519.

UTOPIA.



THE
AUTHOR'S EPISTLE
TO
PETER GILES.

I am almost ashamed, my dearest Peter Giles, to send you this book of the Utopian Commonwealth, after almost a year's delay ; when you no doubt looked for it in six weeks. For as you are sensible that I had no occasion to make use of my invention, or to take pains to put things into a method, because I had nothing to do but to repeat exactly what I heard Raphael relate in your presence ; so a studied elegance of expression would have been here unnecessary. Since as he delivered things to us of the sudden, and in a careless style, — he being, you know, a greater master of the Greek than of the Latin, — the plainer my words are, they will the better resemble his simplicity, and will consequently be nearer to the truth. This is all that I think lies on me,

and the only thing in which I thought myself concerned. I confess that I had here very little left for me to do ; for the invention and ordering of such a scheme would have cost a man, whose capacity and learning was of the ordinary standard, some pains and time. But if it had been necessary that this relation should have been not only consistent with truth, but expressed with elegance, it could never have been performed by me, even after all the pains and time that I could have bestowed upon it. My part in it was so very small, that it could not give me much trouble, all that belonged to me being only to give a true and full account of the things that I had heard.

But though this required so very little of my time, yet even that little was long denied me by my other affairs, which press much upon me : for while in pleading and hearing, in judging or composing of causes, in waiting on some men upon business, and on others out of respect, the greatest part of the day is spent on other men's affairs, the remainder of it must be given to my family at home, so that I can reserve no part of it to myself, that is, to my study. I must talk with my wife, and chat with my children, and I have somewhat to say to my servants. All these things I reckon as a part of business, except a man will resolve to be a stranger at home ; for

with whomsoever either nature, chance, or choice has engaged a man in any commerce, he must endeavour to make himself as acceptable to those about him as he possibly can ; using still such a temper, that he may not spoil them by an excessive gentleness, so that his servants may not become his masters. In such things as these, days, months, and years slip away : what is then left for writing ? And yet I have said nothing of that time that must go for sleep, or for meat ; in which many waste almost as much of their time as in sleep, which consumes very near the half of our life ; and indeed all the time which I can gain to myself, is that which I steal from my sleep and my meals ; and because that is not much, I have made but a slow progress. Yet as it is somewhat, I have at last got to an end of my Utopia, which I now send to you, and expect that after you have read it, you will let me know if you can put me in mind of any thing that has escaped me ; for though I would think myself very happy, if I had but as much invention and learning as I know I have memory, which makes me generally depend much upon it, yet I do not rely so entirely on it, as to think I can forget nothing.

My servant, John Clement, has started some things that shake me. You know he was present with us, as I think he ought to be at every

conversation that may be of use to him ; for I promise myself great matters from the progress he has so early made in the Greek and Roman learning. As far as my memory serves me, the bridge over Anyder, at Amaurot, was, according to Raphael's account, five hundred paces broad ; but John assures me, he spoke only of three hundred paces. Therefore, pray recollect what you can remember of this : for if you agree with him, I will believe that I have been mistaken ; but if you remember nothing of it, I will not alter what I have written, because it is according to the best of my remembrance. For as I will take care that there may be nothing falsely set down, so if there is any thing doubtful, though I may perhaps tell a lie, yet I am sure I will not make one ; for I would rather pass for a good man than for a wise one. But it will be easy to correct this mistake, if you can either meet with Raphael himself, or know how to write to him.

I have another difficulty that presses me more, and makes your writing to him the more necessary ; — I know not whom I ought to blame for it, whether Raphael, you, or myself ; — for as we did not think of asking it, so neither did he of telling us, in what part of the new world Utopia is situated. This was such an omission, that I would gladly redeem it at any rate. I am ashamed, that after I have told so many things com-

cerning this island, I cannot let my readers know in what sea it lies. There are some among us that have a mighty desire to go thither; and in particular, one pious divine is very earnest upon it, not so much out of a vain curiosity of seeing unknown countries, as that he may advance our religion, which is so happily begun to be planted there; and that he may do this regularly, he intends to procure a mission from the Pope, and to be sent thither as their bishop. In such a case as this, he makes no scruple of aspiring to that character, but thinks such ambition meritorious, while actuated solely by a pious zeal; he desires it only as the means of advancing the Christian religion, and not for any honor or advantage that may accrue to himself. Therefore I earnestly beg, that if you can possibly meet with Raphael, or if you know how to write to him, you will be pleased to inform yourself of these things, that there may be no falsehood left in my book, nor any important truth wanting. And perhaps it will not be unfit to let him see the book itself; for as no man can correct any errors that may be in it so well as he, so by reading it he will be able to give a more perfect judgment of it, than he can do upon any discourse concerning it: and you will likewise be able to discover whether this undertaking of mine is acceptable to him or not; for if he intends to write a relation of his travels,

perhaps he will not be pleased that I should prevent him, in that part that belongs to the Utopian commonwealth; since, if I should do so, his book will not surprise the world with the pleasure which this new discovery will give the age. And I am so little fond of appearing in print upon this occasion, that if he dislikes it, I will lay it aside; and even though he should approve of it, I am not positively determined as to the publishing it. Men's tastes differ much; some are of so morose a temper, so sour a disposition, and make such absurd judgments of things, that men of cheerful and lively tempers, who indulge their genius, seem much more happy than those who waste their time and strength in order to publishing a book, which, though of itself it might be useful or pleasant, yet, instead of being well received, will be sure to be either laughed at or censured. Many know nothing of learning, and others despise it. A man that is accustomed to a coarse and harsh style, thinks every thing is rough that is not barbarous. Our trifling pretenders to learning think all is slight that is not dressed up in words that are worn out of use. Some love only old things, and many like nothing but what is their own. Some are so sour that they can allow no jests, and others so dull that they can endure nothing that is sharp; while others are as much afraid of any thing gay and lively,

as a man bit with a mad dog is of water. Others are so light and unsettled, that their thoughts change as quick as they do their postures. Some again, when they meet in taverns, take upon them, among their cups, to pass censures very freely on all writers, and with a supercilious liberty, to condemn every thing they do not like : in which they have an advantage, like that of a bald man, who can catch hold of another by the hair, while the other cannot return the like upon him. They are safe, as it were, from gunshot, since there is nothing in them solid enough to be taken hold of. Others are so unthankful, that even when they are well pleased with a book, yet they think they owe nothing to the author ; and are like those rude guests, who, after they have been well entertained at a good dinner, when they have glutted their appetites, go away without so much as thanking him that treated them. But who would put himself to the charge of making a feast for men of such nice palates, and so different tastes, who are so forgetful of the civilities that are paid them ? But do you once clear those points with Raphael, and then it will be time enough to consider whether it be fit to publish it or not ; for since I have been at the pains to write it, if he consents to its being published, I will follow my friends' advice, and chiefly yours.

10 THE AUTHOR'S EPISTLE, &c.

Farewell, my dear Peter, commend me kindly to your good wife, and love me still as you used to do, for I assure you I love you daily more and more.

U T O P I A . *

INTRODUCTION.

Henry the Eighth, the unconquered king of England, a prince adorned with all the virtues that become a great monarch, having some differences of no small consequence with Charles, the most serene prince of Castile, sent me into Flanders, as his ambassador, for treating and composing matters between them. I was colleague and companion to that incomparable man, Cuthbert Tunstall, whom the king, with such universal applause, lately made Master of the Rolls; but of whom I will say nothing; not because I fear that the testimony of a friend will be suspected, but rather because his learning and virtues are too great for me to do them justice, and so well known, that they need not my commen-

* The original title was as follows: "Of the best state of a Commonwealth, and of the new island of Utopia."

dations, unless I would, according to the proverb, "show the sun with a lantern."

Those that were appointed by the prince to treat with us, met us at Bruges, according to agreement; they were all worthy men. The Margrave of Bruges was their head, and the chief man among them; but he that was esteemed the wisest, and that spoke for the rest, was George Temse, the Provost of Casselsee: both art and nature had concurred to make him eloquent. He was very learned in the law; and, as he had a great capacity, so, by a long practice in affairs, he was very dexterous at unravelling them.

After we had several times met, without coming to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days, to know the prince's pleasure; and, since our business would admit it, I went to Antwerp. While I was there, among many that visited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other; Peter Giles, born at Antwerp, who is a man of great honor, and of a good rank in his town, though less than he deserves; for I do not know if there be any where to be found a more learned and a better bred young man: for as he is both a very worthy and a very knowing person, so he is so civil to all men, so particularly kind to his friends, and so full of candor and affection, that there is not perhaps above one or two any where to be found,

that is in all respects so perfect a friend. He is extraordinarily modest ; there is no artifice in him ; and yet no man has more of a prudent simplicity. His conversation was so pleasant and so innocently cheerful, that his company in a great measure lessened any longings to go back to my country, and to my wife and children, which an absence of four months had quickened very much.

One day as I was returning home from mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw him by accident talking with a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age ; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him ; so that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a seaman. As soon as Peter saw me, he came and saluted me ; and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said, " Do you see that man ? I was just thinking to bring him to you." I answered, " He should have been very welcome on your account." " And on his own too," replied he, " if you knew the man ; for there is none alive that can give so copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do ; which I know you very much desire." " Then," said I, " I did not guess amiss ; for at first sight I

took him for a seaman." "But you are much mistaken," said he; "for he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveller, or rather a philosopher. This Raphael; who from his family carries the name of Hythloday, is not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to philosophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world, that he divided his estate among his brothers, run the same hazard as Americus Vesputius, and bore a share in three of his four voyages, that are now published; only he did not return with him in his last, but obtained leave of him, almost by force, that he might be one of those twenty-four who were left at the farthest place at which they touched, in their last voyage to New Castile. The leaving him thus did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning home, to be buried in his own country; for he used often to say, that the way to heaven was the same from all places, and he that had no grave had the heavens still over him. Yet this disposition of mind had cost him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five Cas-

tilians, had travelled over many countries, at last, by strange good fortune, he got to Ceylon, and from thence to Calicut, where he very happily found some Portuguese ships; and, beyond all men's expectations, returned to his native country."

When Peter had said this to me, I thanked him for his kindness, in intending to give me the acquaintance of a man, whose conversation he knew would be so acceptable; and upon that Raphael and I embraced each other. After those civilities were past, which are usual with strangers upon their first meeting, we all went to my house, and entering into the garden, sat down on a green bank, and entertained one another in discourse.

He told us, that when Vesputius had sailed away, he and his companions that stayed behind in New Castile, by degrees insinuated themselves into the affections of the people of the country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently; and at last they not only lived among them without danger, but conversed familiarly with them; and got so far into the heart of a prince, whose name and country I have forgot, that he both furnished them plentifully with all things necessary, and also with the conveniencies of travelling, both boats when they went by water, and wagons when they travelled over

land. He sent with them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see. And after many days' journey, they came to towns, and cities, and to commonwealths, that were both happily governed and well peopled. Under the Equator, and as far on both sides of it as the sun moves, there lay vast deserts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the sun; the soil was withered, all things looked dismally, and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beasts and serpents, and some few men, that were neither less wild nor less cruel than the beasts themselves. But as they went farther, a new scene opened; all things grew milder, the air less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts were less wild; and at last there were nations, towns, and cities, that had not only mutual commerce among themselves and with their neighbours, but traded, both by sea and land, to very remote countries. There they found the conveniencies of seeing many countries on all hands; for no ship went any voyage into which he and his companions were not very welcome. The first vessels that they saw were flat-bottomed, their sails were made of reeds and wicker woven close together, only some were of leather; but afterwards they found ships made with round keels, and canvass sails,

and in all respects like our ships; and the seamen understood both astronomy and navigation. He got wonderfully into their favor, by showing them the use of the needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant. They sailed before with great caution, and only in summer time; but now they count all seasons alike, trusting wholly to the loadstone, in which they are perhaps more secure than safe; so that there is reason to fear that this discovery, which was thought would prove so much to their advantage, may, by their imprudence, become an occasion of much mischief to them.

But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us that he had observed in every place; it would be too great a digression from our present purpose. Whatever is necessary to be told concerning those wise and prudent institutions which he observed among civilized nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions concerning all these things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no inquiries after monsters, than which nothing is more common; for every where one may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel men-eaters; but it is not so easy to find states that are well and wisely governed.

As he told us of many things that were amiss in those new discovered countries, so he reck-

oned up not a few things, from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of these nations among whom we live; of which an account may be given, as I have already promised, at some other time; for at present I intend only to relate those particulars that he told us of the manners and laws of the Utopians. But I will begin with the occasion that led us to speak of that commonwealth. After Raphael had discoursed with great judgment on the many errors that were both among us and these nations; had treated of the wise institutions both here and there, and had spoken as distinctly of the customs and government of every nation through which he had passed, as if he had spent his whole life in it; Peter being struck with admiration, said, "I wonder, Raphael, how it comes that you enter into no king's service, for I am sure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable; for your learning and knowledge, both of men and things, is such, that you would not only entertain them very pleasantly, but be of great use to them, by the examples you could set before them, and the advices you could give them; and by this means you would both serve your own interest, and be of great use to all your friends."

"As for my friends," answered he, "I need not be much concerned, having already done for them all that was incumbent on me; for

when I was not only in good health, but fresh and young, I distributed that among my kindred and friends, which other people do not part with till they are old and sick ; when they then unwillingly give that which they can enjoy no longer themselves. I think my friends ought to rest contented with this, and not to expect that for their sakes I should enslave myself to any king whatsoever." "Soft and fair!" said Peter, "I do not mean that you should be a slave to any king, but only that you should assist them, and be useful to them." "The change of the word," said he, "does not alter the matter." "But term it as you will," replied Peter, "I do not see any other way in which you can be so useful, both in private to your friends, and to the public, and by which you can make your own condition happier." "Happier!" answered Raphael, "is that to be compassed in a way so abhorrent to my genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few courtiers can pretend ; and there are so many that court the favor of great men, that there will be no great loss, if they are not troubled either with me or with others of my temper." Upon this said I, "I perceive, Raphael, that you neither desire wealth nor greatness ; and indeed I value and admire such a man much more than I do any of the great men in the world. Yet I think you would do what would well become so

generous and philosophical a soul as yours is, if you would apply your time and thoughts to public affairs, even though you may happen to find it a little uneasy to yourself; and this you can never do with so much advantage, as by being taken into the council of some great prince, and putting him on noble and worthy actions, which I know you would do if you were in such a post; for the springs both of good and evil flow from the prince over a whole nation, as from a lasting fountain. So much learning as you have, even without practice in affairs, or so great a practice as you have had, without any other learning, would render you a very fit counsellor to any king whatsoever."

"You are doubly mistaken," said he, "Mr. More, both in your opinion of me, and in the judgment you make of things; for as I have not that capacity that you fancy I have, so, if I had it, the public would not be one jot the better, when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. For most princes apply themselves more to affairs of war than to the useful arts of peace; and in these I neither have any knowledge, nor do I much desire it. They are generally more set on acquiring new kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing well those they possess. And among the ministers of princes, there are none that are not so wise as to need no assistance, or at least that do

not think themselves so wise, that they imagine they need none ; and if they court any, it is only those for whom the prince has much personal favor, whom by their fawnings and flatteries they endeavour to fix to their own interests. And indeed nature has so made us, that we all love to be flattered, and to please ourselves with our own notions ; the old crow loves his young and the ape her cubs. Now, if in such a court, made up of persons who envy all others, and only admire themselves, a person should but propose any thing that he had either read in history, or observed in his travels, the rest would think that the reputation of their wisdom would sink, and that their interests would be much depressed, if they could not run it down ; and if all other things failed, then they would fly to this, that such or such things pleased our ancestors, and it were well for us if we could but match them. They would set up their rest on such an answer, as a sufficient confutation of all that could be said ; as if it were a great misfortune that any should be found wiser than his ancestors. But though they willingly let go all the good things that were among those of former ages, yet, if better things are proposed, they cover themselves obstinately with this excuse of reverence to past times. I have met with these proud, morose, and absurd judgments of things in many places, particularly once

in England." "Was you ever there," said I? "Yes, I was," answered he, "and stayed some months there, not long after the rebellion in the West was suppressed, with a great slaughter of the poor people that were engaged in it.

"I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate, John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, cardinal, and chancellor of England; a man," said he, "Peter, (for Mr. More knows well what he was), that was not less venerable for his wisdom and virtues, than for the high character he bore. He was of a middle stature, not broken with age; his looks begot reverence rather than fear; his conversation was easy, but serious and grave; he sometimes took pleasure to try the force of those that came as suitors to him upon business, by speaking sharply, though decently, to them, and by that he discovered their spirit and presence of mind; with which he was much delighted, when it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great resemblance to his own temper; and he looked on such persons as the fittest men for affairs. He spoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently skilled in the law, had a vast understanding, and a prodigious memory; and those excellent talents with which nature had furnished him, were improved by study and experience. When I was in England, the king depended much on his counsels, and the

government seemed to be chiefly supported by him; for from his youth he had been all along practised in affairs and having passed through many traverses of fortune, he had with great cost acquired a vast stock of wisdom, which is not soon lost when it is purchased so dear.

“One day, when I was dining with him, there happened to be at table one of the English lawyers, who took occasion to run out in a high commendation of the severe execution of justice upon thieves, who, as he said, were then hanged so fast, that there were sometimes twenty on one gibbet; and upon that he said he could not wonder enough how it came to pass, that since so few escaped, there were yet so many thieves left, who were still robbing in all places. Upon this, I, who took the boldness to speak freely before the cardinal, said, “There was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this way of punishing thieves was neither just in itself nor good for the public; for as the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual; simple theft not being so great a crime, that it ought to cost a man his life; no punishment, how severe soever, being able to restrain those from robbing, who can find out no other way of livelihood. In this, said I, not only you in England, but a great part of the world, imitate some ill masters, that are readier to chastise their scholars than to teach them. There are

dreadful punishments enacted against thieves ; but it were much better to make such good provisions, by which every man might be put in a method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing, and of dying for it."

"There has been care enough taken for that," said he ; "there are many handicrafts, and there is husbandry, by which they may make a shift to live, unless they have a greater mind to follow ill courses." "That will not serve your turn," said I, "for many lose their limbs in civil or foreign wars, as lately in the Cornish rebellion, and some time ago in your wars with France, who, being thus mutilated in the service of their king and country, can no more follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones. But since wars are only accidental things, and have intervals, let us consider those things that fall out every day. There is a great number of noblemen among you, that are themselves as idle as drones, that subsist on other men's labor, on the labor of their tenants, whom, to raise their revenues, they pare to the quick. This, indeed, is the only instance of their frugality ; for in all other things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themselves. But, besides this, they carry about with them a great number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living ; and these, as soon as either their

lord dies, or they themselves fall sick, are turned out of doors; for your lords are readier to feed idle people than to take care of the sick; and often the heir is not able to keep together so great a family as his predecessor did. Now, when the stomachs of those that are thus turned out of doors grow keen, they rob no less keenly. And what else can they do? For when, by wandering about, they have worn out both their health and their clothes, and are tattered, and look ghastly, men of quality will not entertain them; and poor men dare not do it, knowing that one who has been bred up in idleness and pleasure, and who was used to walk about with his sword and buckler, despising all the neighbourhood with an insolent scorn as far below him, is not fit for the spade and mattock; nor will he serve a poor man for so small a hire and on so low a diet as he can afford to give him."

To this he answered, "This sort of men ought to be particularly cherished, for in them consists the force of the armies for which we have occasion; since their birth inspires them with a nobler sense of honor than is to be found among tradesmen or ploughmen." "You may as well say," replied I, "that you must cherish thieves on the account of wars, for you will never want the one as long as you have the other; and as robbers prove sometimes gallant soldiers, so sol-

diers often prove brave robbers ; so near an alliance there is between those two sorts of life. But this bad custom, so common among you, of keeping many servants, is not peculiar to this nation. In France there is yet a more pestiferous sort of people, for the whole country is full of soldiers, still kept up in time of peace, if such a state of a nation can be called a peace ; and these are kept in pay upon the same account that you plead for those idle retainers about noblemen ; this being a maxim of those pretended statesmen, that it is necessary for the public safety to have a good body of veteran soldiers ever in readiness. They think raw men are not to be depended on ; and they sometimes seek occasions for making war, that they may train up their soldiers in the art of cutting throats, or, as Sallust observed, ‘ for keeping their hands in use, that they may not grow dull by too long an intermission.’ But France has learned, to its cost, how dangerous it is to feed such beasts. The fate of the Romans, Carthaginians, and Syrians, and many other nations and cities, which were both overturned and quite ruined by those standing armies, should make others wiser. And the folly of this maxim of the French appears plainly even from this, that their trained soldiers often find your raw men prove too hard for them ; of which I will not say much, lest you may think I

flatter the English. Every day's experience shows, that the mechanics in the towns, or the clowns in the country, are not afraid of fighting with those idle gentlemen, if they are not disabled by some misfortune in their body, or dispirited by extreme want ; so that you need not fear, that those well-shaped and strong men (for it is only such that noblemen love to keep about them, till they spoil them), who now grow feeble with ease, and are softened with their effeminate manner of life, would be less fit for action if they were well bred and well employed. And it seems very unreasonable, that, for the prospect of a war, which you need never have but when you please, you should maintain so many idle men, as will always disturb you in time of peace, which is ever to be more considered than war.

“ But I do not think that this necessity of stealing arises only from hence ; there is another cause of it more peculiar to England.” “ What is that ? ” said the cardinal. “ The increase of pasture,” said I, “ by which your sheep, which are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to devour men, and unpeople not only villages but towns ; for wherever it is found that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yield-

ed, nor thinking it enough that they, living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good. They stop the course of agriculture, destroying houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and enclose grounds that they may lodge their sheep in them. As if forests and parks had swallowed up too little of the land, those worthy countrymen turn the best inhabited places into solitudes. For when an insatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, resolves to enclose many thousand acres of ground, the owners as well as tenants, are turned out of their possessions, by trick or by main force, or being wearied out with ill usage, they are forced to sell them. By which means those miserable people, both men and women, married and unmarried, old and young, with their poor, but numerous families, (since country business requires many hands,) are all forced to change their seats, not knowing whither to go; and they must sell, almost for nothing, their household stuff, which could not bring them much money, even though they might stay for a buyer. When that little money is at an end, (for it will be soon spent,) what is left for them to do, but either to steal and so to be hanged, (God knows how justly!) or to go about and beg? And if they do this, they are put in prison as idle vagabonds; while they would willingly work, but can find

none that will hire them ; for there is no more occasion for country labor, to which they have been bred, when there is no arable ground left. One shepherd can look after a flock, which will stock an extent of ground that would require many hands, if it were to be ploughed and reaped. This likewise in many places raises the price of corn. The price of wool is also so risen, that the poor people who were wont to make cloth, are no more able to buy it ; and this likewise makes many of them idle. For since the increase of pasture, God has punished the avarice of the owners by a rot among the sheep, which has destroyed vast numbers of them ; to us it might have seemed more just had it fell on the owners themselves.

“ But suppose the sheep should increase ever so much, their price is not like to fall ; since though they cannot be called a monopoly, because they are not engrossed by one person, yet they are in so few hands, and these are so rich, that as they are not pressed to sell them sooner than they have a mind to it, so they never do it till they have raised the price as high as possible. And on the same account it is, that the other kinds of cattle are so dear, because many villages being pulled down ; and all country labor being much neglected, there are none who make it their business to breed them. The rich do not breed

cattle as they do sheep, but buy them lean, and at low prices ; and after they have fattened them on their grounds, sell them again at high rates. And I do not think that all the inconveniences this will produce, are yet observed ; for as they sell the cattle dear, so, if they are consumed faster than the breeding countries from which they are brought can afford them, then the stock must decrease, and this must needs end in great scarcity ; and by these means, this your island, which seemed, as to this particular, the happiest in the world, will suffer much by the cursed avarice of a few persons. Besides this, the rising of corn makes all people lessen their families as much as they can ; and what can those who are diminished by them do, but either beg or rob ? And to this last, a man of a great mind is much sooner drawn than to the former.

“Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you, to set forward your poverty and misery ; there is an excessive vanity in apparel, and great cost in diet, and that not only in noblemen’s families, but even among tradesmen, among the farmers themselves, and among all ranks of persons. You have also many infamous houses, and, besides those that are known, the taverns and ale-houses are no better ; add to these, dice, cards, tables, football, tennis, and quoits, in which money runs fast away ; and those that are initia-

ted into them, must, in the conclusion, betake themselves to robbing for a supply. Banish these plagues, and give orders that those who have dispeopled so much soil, may either rebuild the villages they have pulled down, or let out their grounds to such as will do it. Restrain those engrossings of the rich, that are as bad almost as monopolies ; leave fewer occasions to idleness ; let agriculture be set up again, and the manufacture of the wool be regulated, that so there may be work found for those companies of idle people, whom want forces to be thieves, or who now being idle vagabonds, or useless servants, will certainly grow thieves at last. If you do not find a remedy to these evils, it is a vain thing to boast of your severity in punishing theft ; which, though it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself is neither just nor convenient : for, if you suffer your people to be ill educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves and then punish them ? ”

While I was talking thus, the counsellor who was present had prepared an answer, and had resolved to resume all I had said, according to the formality of a debate, in which things are generally repeated more faithfully than they are an-

swered ; as if the chief trial to be made were of men's memories. " You have talked prettily for a stranger," said he, " having heard of many things among us, which you have not been able to consider well ; but I will make the whole matter plain to you, and will first repeat in order all that you have said ; then I will show how much your ignorance of our affairs has misled you, and will, in the last place, answer all your arguments. And that I may begin where I promised, there were four things "——" Hold your peace," said the cardinal, " this will take up too much time ; therefore we will at present ease you of the trouble of answering, and reserve it to our next meeting, which shall be tomorrow, if Raphael's affairs and yours can admit of it. But, Raphael," said he to me, " I would gladly know upon what reason it is that you think theft ought not to be punished by death. Would you give way to it ? Or do you propose any other punishment that will be more useful to the public ? For, since death does not restrain theft, if men thought their lives would be safe, what fear or force could restrain ill men ? On the contrary, they would look on the mitigation of the punishment as an invitation to commit more crimes."

I answered, " It seems to me a very unjust thing to take away a man's life for a little money ; for nothing in the world can be of equal value

with a man's life. And if it is said, that it is not for the money that one suffers, but for his breaking the law, I must say, extreme justice is an extreme injury ; for we ought not to approve of these terrible laws that make the smallest offence capital, nor of that opinion of the Stoics, that makes all crimes equal ; as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a man and the taking his purse, between which, if we examine things impartially, there is no likeness nor proportion. God has commanded us not to kill ; and shall we kill so easily for a little money ? But, if one shall say, that by that law we are only forbid to kill any, except when the laws of the land allow of it ; upon the same grounds, laws may be made in some cases to allow of adultery and perjury ; for God having taken from us the right of disposing either of our own or of other people's lives, if it is pretended that the mutual consent of men in making laws, can authorize manslaughter in cases in which God has given us no example, that it frees people from the obligation of the divine law, and so makes murder a lawful action ; what is this, but to give a preference to human laws before the divine ? And if this is once admitted, by the same rule men may, in all other things, put what restrictions they please upon the laws of God. If by the Mosai-cal law, though it was rough and severe, as being

a yoke laid on an obstinate and servile nation, men were only fined, and not put to death, for theft, we cannot imagine that in this new law of mercy, in which God treats us with the tenderness of a father, he has given us a greater license to cruelty than he did to the Jews. Upon these reasons it is, that I think putting thieves to death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is absurd and of ill consequence to the commonwealth, that a thief and a murderer should be equally punished; for if a robber sees that his danger is the same, if he is convicted of theft, as if he were guilty of murder, this will naturally incite him to kill the person whom otherwise he would only have robbed; since, if the punishment is the same, there is more security, and less danger of discovery, when he that can best make it is put out of the way; so that terrifying thieves too much, provokes them to cruelty.

But as to the question, What more convenient way of punishment can be found? I think it is much easier to find out that, than to invent any thing that is worse. Why should we doubt but the way that was so long in use among the old Romans, who understood so well the arts of government, was very proper for their punishment? They condemned such as they found guilty of great crimes, to work their whole lives in quarries, or to dig in mines with chains about them.

But the method that I liked best, was that which I observed in my travels in Persia, among the Polylerits, who are a considerable and well governed people. They pay a yearly tribute to the king of Persia; but in all other respects they are a free nation, and governed by their own laws. They lie far from the sea, and are environed with hills; and being contented with the productions of their own country, which is very fruitful, they have little commerce with any other nation; and as they, according to the genius of their country, have no inclination to enlarge their borders, so their mountains, and the pension they pay to the Persian, secure them from all invasions. Thus they have no wars among them; they live rather conveniently than with splendor, and may be rather called a happy nation, than either eminent or famous; for I do not think that they are known so much as by name to any but their next neighbours.

Those that are found guilty of theft among them, are bound to make restitution to the owner, and not, as it is in other places, to the prince; for they reckon that the prince has no more right to the stolen goods than the thief. But if that which was stolen is no more in being, then the goods of the thieves are estimated, and restitution being made out of them, the remainder is given to their wives and children; and they

themselves are condemned to serve in the public works, but are neither imprisoned nor chained, unless there happens to be some extraordinary circumstances in their crimes. They go about loose and free, working for the public. If they are idle or backward to work, they are whipped; but if they work hard, they are well used, and treated without any mark of reproach; only the lists of them are called always at night, and then they are shut up. They suffer no other uneasiness but this of constant labor; for as they work for the public, so they are well entertained out of the public stock, which is done differently in different places. In some places, whatever is bestowed on them, is raised by a charitable contribution; and though this way may seem uncertain, yet so merciful are the inclinations of that people, that they are plentifully supplied by it; but in other places, public revenues are set aside for them; or there is a constant tax or poll-money raised for their maintenance. In some places they are set to no public work, but every private man that has occasion to hire workmen, goes to the market-places and hires them of the public, a little lower than he would do a freeman. If they go lazily about their task, he may quicken them with the whip. By this means there is always some piece of work or other to be done by them; and beside their livelihood, they earn

somewhat still to the public. They all wear a peculiar habit, of one certain color, and their hair is cropped a little above their ears, and a piece of one of their ears is cut off. Their friends are allowed to give them either meat, drink, or clothes, so they are of their proper color; but it is death, both to the giver and taker, if they give them money. Nor is it less penal for any freeman to take money from them, upon any account whatsoever; and it is also death for any of these slaves (so they are called) to handle arms. Those of every division of the country are distinguished by a peculiar mark; which it is capital for them to lay aside, to go out of their bounds, or talk with a slave of another jurisdiction; and the very attempt of an escape is no less penal than an escape itself. It is death for any other slave to be accessary to it; and if a freeman engages in it he is condemned to slavery. Those that discover it are rewarded; if freemen, in money; and if slaves, with liberty, together with a pardon for being accessary to it; that so they might find their account, rather in repenting of their engaging in such a design, than in persisting in it.

These are their laws and rules in relation to robbery; and it is obvious that they are as advantageous as they are mild and gentle; since vice is not only destroyed, and men preserved,

but they treated in such a manner as to make them see the necessity of being honest, and of employing the rest of their lives in repairing the injuries they had formerly done to society. Nor is there any hazard of their falling back to their old customs ; and so little do travellers apprehend mischief from them, that they generally make use of them for guides from one jurisdiction to another. For there is nothing left them by which they can rob, or be the better for it ; since as they are disarmed, so the very having of money is a sufficient conviction. And as they are certainly punished if discovered, so they cannot hope to escape ; for their habit being in all the parts of it different from what is commonly worn, they cannot fly away, unless they would go naked, and even then their cropped ear would betray them. The only danger to be feared from them, is their conspiring against the government : but those of one division and neighbourhood can do nothing to any purpose, unless a general conspiracy were laid amongst all the slaves of the several jurisdictions, which cannot be done, since they cannot meet or talk together ; nor will any venture on a design where the concealment would be so dangerous, and the discovery so profitable. None are quite hopeless of recovering their freedom, since by their obedience and patience, and by giving good grounds to believe

that they will change their manner of life for the future, they may expect at last to obtain their liberty ; and some are every year restored to it, upon the good character that is given of them."

When I had related all this, I added, that I did not see why such a method might not be followed with more advantage than could ever be expected from that severe justice which the counsellor magnified so much. To this he answered, that it could never take place in England, without endangering the whole nation. As he said this, he shook his head, made some grimaces, and held his peace, while all the company seemed of his opinion, except the cardinal, who said that it was not easy to form a judgment of its success, since it was a method that never yet had been tried. "But if," said he, "when sentence of death was passed upon a thief, the prince would reprieve him for a while, and make the experiment upon him, denying him the privilege of a sanctuary ; and then if it had a good effect upon him, it might take place ; and if it did not succeed, the worst would be, to execute the sentence on the condemned persons at last. And I do not see," added he, "why it would be either unjust, inconvenient, or at all dangerous, to admit of such a delay. In my opinion, the vagabonds ought to be treated in the same manner ; against whom, though we have made many

laws, yet we have not been able to gain our end." When the cardinal had done, they all commended the motion, though they had despised it when it came from me ; but more particularly commended what related to the vagabonds, because it was his own observation.

I do not know whether it be worth while to tell what followed, for it was very ridiculous ; but I shall venture at it, for as it is not foreign to this matter, so some good use may be made of it. There was a jester standing by, that counterfeited the fool so naturally, that he seemed to be really one. The jests which he offered were so cold and dull, that we laughed more at him than at them ; yet sometimes he said, as it were by chance, things that were not unpleasant ; so as to justify the old proverb, that ' he who throws the dice often, will sometimes have a lucky hit.' When one of the company had said, that I had taken care of the thieves, and the cardinal had taken care of the vagabonds, so that there remained nothing but that some public provision might be made for the poor, whom sickness or old age had disabled from labor ; " Leave that to me," said the fool, " and I shall take care of them ; for there is no sort of people whose sight I abhor more, having been so often vexed with them, and with their sad complaints ; but as dolefully soever as they have told their tale, they

could never prevail so far as to draw one penny from me : for either I had no mind to give them any thing, or when I had a mind to do it, I had nothing to give them ; and they now know me so well, that they will not lose their labor, but let me pass without giving me any trouble, because they hope for nothing, no more in faith than if I were a priest. But I would have a law made, for sending all these beggars to monasteries, the men to the Benedictines to be made lay brothers, and the women to be nuns."

The cardinal smiled, and approved of it in jest ; but the rest liked it in earnest. There was a divine present, who, though he was a grave, morose man, yet he was so pleased with this reflection that was made on the priests and the monks, that he began to play with the fool, and said to him, "This will not deliver you from all beggars, except you take care of us friars." "That is done already," answered the fool, "for the cardinal has provided for you, by what he proposed for restraining vagabonds and setting them to work, for I know no vagabonds like you." "This was well entertained by the whole company, who looking at the cardinal, perceived that he was not ill pleased at it. Only the friar himself was vexed, as may be easily imagined, and fell into such a passion, that he could not forbear railing at the fool, and calling him knave, slan-

derer, backbiter, and son of perdition, and then cited some dreadful threatenings out of the Scriptures against him. Now the jester thought he was in his element, and laid about him freely. "Good friar," said he, "be not angry, for it is written, 'In patience possess your soul.' The friar answered, (for I shall give you his own words) "I am not angry, you hangman; at least I do not sin in it, for the Psalmist says, 'Be ye angry, and sin not.'" Upon this the cardinal admonished him gently, and wished him to govern his passions. "No, my lord, said he, I speak not but from a good zeal, which I ought to have; for holy men have had a good zeal, as it is said, 'The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up;' and we sing in our church, that those who mocked Elisha as he went up to the house of God, felt the effects of his zeal; which that mocker, that rogue, that scoundrel, will perhaps feel." "You do this, perhaps, with a good intention," said the cardinal; "but, in my opinion, it were wiser in you, and perhaps better for you, not to engage in so ridiculous a contest with a fool." "No, my lord," answered he, "that were not wisely done; for Solomon, the wisest of men, said, 'Answer a fool according to his folly;' which I now do, and show him the ditch into which he will fall, if he is not aware of it; for if the many mockers of Elisha, who was but one bald

man, felt the effect of his zeal, what will become of one mocker of so many friars, among whom there are so many bald men ? We have likewise a bull, by which all that jeer us are excommunicated." When the cardinal saw that there was no end of this matter, he made a sign to the fool to withdraw, turned the discourse another way, and soon after rose from the table, and dismissing us, went to hear causes.

Thus, Mr. More, I have run out into a tedious story, of the length of which I had been ashamed, if, as you earnestly begged it of me, I had not observed you to hearken to it as if you had no mind to lose any part of it. I might have contracted it, but I resolved to give it you at large, that you might observe how those that despised what I had proposed, no sooner perceived that the cardinal did not dislike it, but presently approved of it, fawned so on him, and flattered him to such a degree, that they in good earnest applauded those things that he only liked in jest. And from hence you may gather, how little courtiers would value either me or my counsels."

To this I answered "You have done me a great kindness in this relation ; for as every thing has been related by you both wisely and pleasantly, so you have made me imagine that I was in my own country, and grown young again, by recall-

ing that good cardinal to my thoughts, in whose family I was bred from my childhood. And though you are upon other accounts very dear to me, yet you are the dearer because you honor his memory so much. But after all this, I cannot change my opinion ; for I still think that if you could overcome that aversion which you have to the courts of princes, you might, by the advice which it is in your power to give, do a great deal of good to mankind, — and this is the chief design that every good man ought to propose to himself in living, — for your friend Plato thinks that nations will be happy, when either philosophers become kings, or kings become philosophers. It is no wonder if we are so far from that happiness, while philosophers do not think it their duty to assist kings with their counsels.” “ They are not so base-minded,” said he, “ but that they would willingly do it. Many of them have already done it by their books, if those that are in power would but hearken to their good advice. But Plato judged right, that except kings themselves became philosophers, they who from their childhood are corrupted with false notions would never fall in entirely with the counsels of philosophers ; and this he himself found to be true in the person of Dionysius.

“ Do not you think, that if I were about any king, proposing good laws to him, and endeavour-

ing to root out all the cursed seeds of evil that I found in him, I should either be turned out of his court, or at least be laughed at for my pains ? For instance, what could I signify if I were about the king of France, and were called into his cabinet council, where several wise men, in his hearing, were proposing many expedients ; as by what arts and practices Milan may be kept, and Naples, that has so often slipped out of their hands, recovered ; how the Venetians, and after them the rest of Italy, may be subdued ; and then how Flanders, Brabant, and all Burgundy, and some other kingdoms which he has swallowed already in his designs, may be added to his empire. One proposes a league with the Venetians, to be kept as long as he finds his account in it, and that he ought to communicate counsels with them, and give them some share of the spoil, till his success makes him need or fear them less, and then it will be easily taken out of their hands. Another proposes the hiring the Germans, and the securing the Switzers by pensions. Another proposes the gaining the emperor by money, which is omnipotent with him. Another proposes a peace with the king of Arragon, and, in order to cement it, the yielding up the king of Navarre's pretensions. Another thinks the prince of Castile is to be wrought on by the hope of an alliance, and that some of his courtiers are to be

gained to the French faction by pensions. The hardest point of all is what to do with England. A treaty of peace is to be set on foot; and if their alliance is not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as possible; and they are to be called friends, but suspected as enemies: therefore the Scots are to be kept in readiness, to be let loose upon England on every occasion; and some banished nobleman is to be supported underhand (for by the league it cannot be done avowedly,) who has a pretension to the crown, by which means that suspected prince may be kept in awe.

“ Now, when things are in so great a fermentation, and so many gallant men are joining counsels, how to carry on the war, if so mean a man as I should stand up, and wish them to change all their counsels, to let Italy alone, and stay at home, since the kingdom of France was indeed greater than could be well governed by one man; that therefore he ought not to think of adding others to it; and if, after this, I should propose to them the resolutions of the Achorians, a people that lie on the southeast of Utopia, who long ago engaged in war, in order to add to the dominions of their prince another kingdom, to which he had some pretensions by an ancient alliance. This they conquered; but found that the trouble of keeping it was equal to that by

which it was gained ; that the conquered people were always either in rebellion or exposed to foreign invasions, while they were obliged to be incessantly at war, either for or against them, and consequently could never disband their army ; that in the mean time they were oppressed with taxes, their money went out of the kingdom, their blood was spilt for the glory of their king, without procuring the least advantage to the people, who received not the smallest benefit from it even in time of peace ; and that their manners being corrupted by a long war, robbery and murders every where abounded, and their laws fell into contempt ; while their king, distracted with the care of two kingdoms, was the less able to apply his mind to the interest of either. When they saw this, and that there would be no end to these evils, they by joint counsels made an humble address to their king, desiring him to choose which of the two kingdoms he had the greatest mind to keep, since he could not hold both ; for they were too great a people to be governed by a divided king, since no man would willingly have a groom that should be in common between him and another. Upon which the good prince was forced to quit his new kingdom to one of his friends (who was not long after dethroned,) and to be contented with his old one. To this I would add, that after all those warlike attempts,

the vast confusions, and the consumption both of treasure and of people that must follow them, perhaps, upon some misfortune, they might be forced to throw up all at last ; therefore it seemed much more eligible that the king should improve his ancient kingdom all he could, and make it flourish as much as possible ; that he should love his people, and be beloved of them ; that he should live among them, govern them gently, and let other kingdoms alone, since that which had fallen to his share was big enough, if not too big, for him. Pray, how do you think would such a speech as this be heard ? ” “ I confess,” said I, “ I think not very well.”

“ But what ” said he, “ if I should sort with another kind of ministers, whose chief contrivances and consultations were, by what art the prince’s treasures might be increased. Where one proposes raising the value of specie when the king’s debts are large, and lowering it when his revenues were to come in, that so he might both pay much with a little, and in a little receive a great deal. Another proposes a pretence of a war, that money might be raised in order to carry it on, and that a peace be concluded as soon as that was done ; and this with such appearances of religion as might work on the people, and make them impute it to the piety of their prince, and to his tenderness for the lives of his subjects.

A third offers some old musty laws, that have been antiquated by a long disuse, and which, as they had been forgotten by all the subjects, so they had been also broken by them; and proposes the levying the penalties of these laws, that as it would bring in a vast treasure, so there might be a very good pretence for it, since it would look like the executing a law, and the doing of justice. A fourth proposes the prohibiting of many things under severe penalties, especially such as were against the interest of the people and then the dispensing with these prohibitions, upon great compositions, to those who might find their advantage in breaking them. This would serve two ends, both of them acceptable to many; for as those whose avarice led them to transgress, would be severely fined, so the selling licenses dear, would look as if a prince were tender of his people, and would not easily, or at low rates, dispense with any thing that might be against the public good. Another proposes, that the judges must be made sure, that they may declare always in favor of the prerogative; that they must be often sent for to court, that the king may hear them argue those points in which he is concerned; since how unjust soever any of his pretensions may be, yet still some one or other of them, either out of contradiction to others, or the pride of singularity, or to make

their court, would find out some pretence or other to give the king a fair color to carry the point : for if the judges but differ in opinion, the clearest thing in the world is made by that means disputable, and truth being once brought in question, the king may then take advantage to expound the law for his own profit, while the judges that stand out will be brought over, either out of fear or modesty ; and they being thus gained, all of them may be sent to the bench to give sentence boldly, as the king would have it ; for fair pretences will never be wanting when sentence is to be given in the prince's favor. It will either be said, that equity lies of his side, or some words in the law will be found sounding that way, or some forced sense will be put on them ; and when all other things fail, the king's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all law, and to which a religious judge ought to have a special regard. Thus all consent to that maxim of Crassus, that a prince cannot have treasure enough, since he must maintain his armies out of it ; that a king, even though he would, can do nothing unjustly ; that all property is in him, not excepting the very persons of his subjects ; and that no man has any other property but that which the king, out of his goodness, thinks fit to leave him ; and they think it is the prince's interest, that there

be as little of this left as may be, as if it were his advantage that his people should have neither riches nor liberty, since these things make them less easy and less willing to submit to a cruel and unjust government; whereas necessity and poverty blunts them, makes them patient, beats them down, and breaks that height of spirit, that might otherwise dispose them to rebel.

“Now, what if, after all these propositions were made, I should rise up and assert, that such counsels were both unbecoming a king, and mischievous to him; and that not only his honor but his safety consisted more in his people’s wealth, than in his own; if I should show that they choose a king for their own sake, and not for his; that by his care and endeavours they may be both easy and safe; and that, therefore, a prince ought to take more care of his people’s happiness than of his own, as a shepherd is to take more care of his flock than of himself. It is also certain, that they are much mistaken that think the poverty of a nation is a means of the public safety. Who quarrel more than beggars? Who does more earnestly long for a change, than he that is uneasy in his present circumstances? And who run to create confusions with so desperate a boldness as those who, having nothing to lose, hope to gain by them? If a king should fall under such contempt or envy, that he could

not keep his subjects in their duty but by oppression and ill usage, and by rendering them poor and miserable, it were certainly better for him to quit his kingdom, than to retain it by such methods, as make him, while he keeps the name of authority, lose the majesty due to it. Nor is it so becoming the dignity of a king to reign over beggars, as over rich and happy subjects. And therefore Fabricius, a man of a noble and exalted temper, said he would rather govern rich men, than be rich himself; since for one man to abound in wealth and pleasure, when all about him are mourning and groaning, is to be a gaoler and not a king.

“He is an unskilful physician, that cannot cure one disease without casting his patient into another; so he that can find no other way for correcting the errors of his people, but by taking from them the conveniencies of life, shows that he knows not what it is to govern a free nation. He himself ought rather to shake off his sloth, or to lay down his pride; for the contempt or hatred that his people have for him, takes its rise from the vices in himself. Let him live upon what belongs to him, without wronging others, and accommodate his expense to his revenue. Let him punish crimes, and by his wise conduct let him endeavour to prevent them, rather than be severe when he has suffered them to be too

common. Let him not rashly revive laws that are abrogated by disuse, especially if they have been long forgotten, and never wanted. And let him never take any penalty for the breach of them, to which a judge would not give way in a private man, but would look on him as a crafty and unjust person for pretending to it. To these things I would add that law among the Macari-ans, a people that lie not far from Utopia, by which their king, on the day on which he begins to reign, is tied by an oath, confirmed by solemn sacrifices, never to have at once above a thousand pounds of gold in his treasures, or so much silver as is equal to that in value. This law, they tell us, was made by an excellent king, who had more regard to the riches of his country, than to his own wealth ; and therefore provided against the heaping up of so much treasure as might impoverish the people. He thought that moderate sum might be sufficient for any accident, if either the king had occasion for it against rebels, or the kingdom against the invasion of an enemy ; but that it was not enough to encourage a prince to invade other men's rights, a circumstance that was the chief cause of his making that law. He also thought that it was a good provision for that free circulation of money, so necessary for the course of commerce and exchange ; and when a king must distribute all

those extraordinary accessions that increase treasure beyond the due pitch, it makes him less disposed to oppress his subjects. Such a king as this will be the terror of ill men, and will be beloved by all the good.

"If, I say, I should talk of these or such like things, to men that had taken their bias another way, how deaf would they be to all I could say." "No doubt, very deaf," answered I; "and no wonder, for one is never to offer at propositions or advice that we are certain will not be entertained. Discourses so much out of the road could not avail any thing, nor have any effect on men, whose minds were prepossessed with different sentiments. This philosophical way of speculation is not unpleasant among friends in a free conversation; but there is no room for it in the courts of princes, where great affairs are carried on by authority." "That is what I was saying," replied he, "that there is no room for philosophy in the courts of princes." "Yes, there is," said I, "but not for this speculative philosophy, that makes every thing to be alike fitting at all times. But there is another philosophy that is more pliable, that knows its proper scene, accommodates itself to it, and teaches a man with propriety and decency to act that part which has fallen to his share. If when one of Plautus's comedies is upon the stage, and a com-

pany of servants are acting their parts, you should come out in the garb of a philosopher, and repeat, out of Octavia, a discourse of Seneca's to Nero, would it not be better for you to say nothing, than by mixing things of such different natures, to make an impertinent tragi-comedy? For you spoil and corrupt the play that is in hand, when you mix with it things of an opposite nature, even though they are much better. Therefore, go through with the play that is acting, the best you can; and do not confound it, because another that is pleasanter comes into your thoughts. It is even so in a commonwealth, and in the councils of princes. If ill opinions cannot be quite rooted out, and you cannot cure some received vice according to your wishes, you must not therefore abandon the commonwealth, for the same reasons as you should not forsake the ship in a storm, because you cannot command the winds. You are not obliged to assault people with discourses that are out of their road, when you see that their received notions must prevent your making an impression upon them. You ought rather to cast about, and to manage things with all the dexterity in your power, so that if you are not able to make them go well, they may be as little ill as possible. For except all men were good, every thing cannot be right; and that is a blessing that I do not at present hope to see."

“According to your arguments,” answered he, “all that I could be able to do would be to preserve myself from being mad while I endeavoured to cure the madness of others; for if I speak truth, I must repeat what I have said to you; and as for lying, whether a philosopher can do it or not, I cannot tell; I am sure I cannot do it. But though these discourses may be uneasy and ungrateful to them, I do not see why they should seem foolish or extravagant. Indeed, if I should either propose such things as Plato has contrived in his commonwealth, or as the Utopians practise in theirs, though they might seem better, as certainly they are, yet they are so different from our establishment, which is founded on property, (there being no such thing among them,) that I could not expect that it would have any effect on them. But such discourses as mine, which only call past evils to mind, and give warning of what may follow, have nothing in them that is so absurd, that they may not be used at any time; for they can only be unpleasant to those who are resolved to run headlong the contrary way. And if we must let alone every thing as absurd or extravagant, which, by reason of the wicked lives of many, may seem uncouth, we must, even among Christians, give over pressing the greatest part of those things that Christ hath taught us; though he has commanded us not to conceal

them, but to proclaim on the house-tops that which he taught in secret. The greatest part of his precepts are more opposite to the lives of the men of this age, than part of my discourse has been. But the preachers seem to have learned that craft to which you advise me; for they, observing that the world would not willingly suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted his doctrine, as if it had been a leaden rule, to their lives; that so, some way or other, they might agree with one another. But I see no other effect of this compliance, except it be that men become more secure in their wickedness by it.

“And this is all the success that I can have in a court; for I must always differ from the rest, and then I shall signify nothing; or if I agree with them I shall then only help forward their madness. I do not comprehend what you mean by your casting about, or by the bending and handling things so dexterously, that if they go not well, they may go as little ill as may be; for in courts they will not bear with a man's holding his peace, or conniving at what others do. A man must barefacedly approve of the worst counsels, and consent to the blackest designs; so that he would pass for a spy, or possibly for a traitor, that did but coldly approve of such wicked practices. And therefore when a man is engaged in

such a society, he will be so far from being able to mend matters by his casting about, as you call it, that he will find no occasions of doing any good. The ill company will sooner corrupt him, than be the better for him. Or if, notwithstanding all their ill company, he still remains steady and innocent, yet their follies and knavery will be imputed to him; and by mixing counsels with them, he must bear his share of all the blame that belongs wholly to others.

“It was no ill simile, by which Plato set forth the unreasonableness of a philosopher’s meddling with government. ‘If a man,’ says he, ‘was to see a great company run out every day into the rain, and take delight in being wet; if he knew that it would be to no purpose for him to go and persuade them to return to their houses, in order to avoid the storm, and that all that could be expected by his going to speak to them, would be that he himself should be as wet as they, it would be best for him to keep within doors; and since he had not influence enough to correct other people’s folly, to take care to preserve himself.’

“Though to speak plainly my real sentiments, I must freely own, that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily. Not justly, because the best things will fall to the share of

the worst men. Nor happily, because all things will be divided among a few, (and even these are not in all respects happy) the rest being left to be absolutely miserable. Therefore, when I reflect on the wise and good constitution of the Utopians, among whom all things are so well governed, and with so few laws; where virtue hath its due reward, and yet there is such an equality, that every man lives in plenty: when I compare with them so many other nations that are still making new laws, and yet can never bring their constitution to a right regulation; where notwithstanding every one has his property, yet all the laws that they can invent have not the power either to obtain or preserve it, or even to enable men certainly to distinguish what is their own from what is another's; of which the many lawsuits that every day break out, and are eternally depending, give too plain a demonstration: when, I say, I balance all these things in my thoughts, I grow more favorable to Plato, and do not wonder that he resolved not to make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things. For so wise a man could not but foresee that the setting all upon a level, was the only way to make a nation happy; which cannot be obtained so long as there is property. For when every man draws to himself all that he can compass, by one title or another, it must needs

follow, that how plentiful soever a nation may be, yet a few dividing the wealth of it among themselves, the rest must fall into indigence. So that there will be two sorts of people among them, who deserve that their fortunes should be interchanged; the former useless, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter, who by their constant industry serve the public more than themselves, sincere and modest men. From whence I am persuaded, that till property is taken away, there can be no equitable or just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed; for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the far best part of mankind will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties. I confess without taking it quite away, those pressures that lie on a great part of mankind, may be made lighter; but they can never be quite removed. For if laws were made to determine at how great an extent in soil, and at how much money every man must stop, to limit the prince that he might not grow too great, and to restrain the people that they might not become too insolent, and that none might factiously aspire to public employments; which ought neither to be sold, nor made burthensome by a great expense; since otherwise those that serve in them would be tempted to reimburse themselves by cheats and violence, and it would become necessary to find out rich men

for undergoing those employments which ought rather to be trusted to the wise : these laws, I say, might have such effects, as good diet and care might have on a sick man, whose recovery is desperate ; they might allay and mitigate the disease, but it could never be quite healed, nor the body politic be brought again to a good habit, as long as property remains ; and it will fall out as in a complication of diseases, that by applying a remedy to one sore, you will provoke another ; and that which removes the one ill symptom produces others, while the strengthening one part of the body weakens the rest.

“On the contrary,” answered I, “it seems to me that men cannot live conveniently where all things are common. How can there be any plenty, where every man will excuse himself from labor ? For as the hope of gain doth not excite him, so the confidence that he has in other men’s industry, may make him slothful. If people come to be pinched with want, and yet cannot dispose of any thing as their own, what can follow upon this, but perpetual sedition and bloodshed, especially when the reverence and authority due to magistrates fall to the ground ? For I cannot imagine how that can be kept up among those that are in all things equal to one another.” “I do not wonder,” said he, “that it appears so to you, since you have no notion, or

at least no right one, of such a constitution. But if you had been in Utopia with me, and had seen their laws and rules, as I did, for the space of five years, in which I lived among them ; and during which time I was so delighted with them, that indeed I should never have left them, if it had not been to make the discovery of that new world to the Europeans ; you would then confess that you had never seen a people so well constituted as they." " You will not easily persuade me," said Peter, " that any nation in that new world is better governed than those among us. For as our understandings are not worse than theirs, so our government, if I mistake not, being more ancient, a long practice has helped us to find out many conveniencies of life ; and some happy chances have discovered other things to us, which no man's understanding could ever have invented."

" As for the antiquity either of their government or of ours," said he, " you cannot pass a true judgment of it, unless you had read their histories ; for if they are to be believed, they had towns among them before these parts were so much as inhabited ; and as for those discoveries, that have been either hit on by chance, or made by ingenious men, these might have happened there as well as here. I do not deny but we are more ingenious than they are, but they exceed

us much in industry and application. They knew little concerning us, before our arrival among them. They call us all by a general name of 'the nations that lie beyond the equinoctial line;' for their chronicle mentions a shipwreck that was made on their coast twelve hundred years ago; and that some Romans and Egyptians that were in the ship, getting safe ashore, spent the rest of their days amongst them; and such was their ingenuity, that from this single opportunity, they drew the advantage of learning from those unlooked for guests, and acquired all the useful arts that were then among the Romans, and which were known to these shipwrecked men: and by the hints that they gave them, they themselves found out even some of those arts which they could not fully explain; so happily did they improve that accident of having some of our people cast upon their shore. But if such an accident has at any time brought any from thence into Europe, we have been so far from improving it, that we do not so much as remember it; as in after times, perhaps, it will be forgot by our people that I was ever there. For though they, from one such accident, made themselves masters of all the good inventions that were among us, yet I believe it would be long before we should learn or put in practice any of the good institutions that are among them: and

this is the true cause of their being better governed, and living happier than we, though we come not short of them in point of understanding, or outward advantages."

Upon this I said to him, "I earnestly beg you would describe that island very particularly to us. Be not too short, but set out in order all things relating to their soil, their rivers, their towns, their people, their manners, constitution, laws, and, in a word, all that you imagine we desire to know; and you may well imagine that we desire to know every thing concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant." "I will do it very willingly," said he, "for I have digested the whole matter carefully; but it will take up some time." "Let us go then," said I, "first and dine, and then we shall have leisure enough." He consented. We went in and dined, and after dinner came back and sat down in the same place. I ordered my servants to take care that none might come and interrupt us; and both Peter and I desired Raphael to be as good as his word. When he saw that we were very intent upon it, he paused a little to recollect himself, and began in this manner.

UTOPIA.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND.

The island of Utopia is in the middle two hundred miles broad, and holds almost at the same breadth over a great part of it; but it grows narrower towards both ends. Its figure is not unlike a crescent; between its horns the sea comes in eleven miles broad, and spreads itself into a great bay, which is environed with land to the compass of about five hundred miles, and is well secured from winds. In this bay there is no great current; the whole coast is, as it were, one continued harbour, which gives all that live in the island great convenience for mutual commerce: but the entry into the bay, occasioned by rocks on the one hand, and shallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the middle of it there is one single rock which appears above water, and may therefore easily be avoided; and on the top of it there

is a tower, in which a garrison is kept ; the other rocks lie under water, and are very dangerous. The channel is known only to the natives, so that if any stranger should enter into the bay without one of their pilots, he would run great danger of shipwreck ; for even they themselves could not pass it safe, if some marks that are on the coast did not direct their way ; and if these should be but a little shifted, any fleet that might come against them, how great soever it were, would be certainly lost. On the other side of the island there are likewise many harbours ; and the coast is so fortified, both by nature and art, that a small number of men can hinder the descent of a great army.

But they report (and there remain good marks of it to make it credible) that this was no island at first, but a part of the continent. Utopus, that conquered it, (whose name it still carries, for Abraxa was its first name) brought the rude and uncivilized inhabitants into such a good government, and to that measure of politeness, that they now far excel all the rest of mankind. Having soon subdued them, he designed to separate them from the continent, and to bring the sea quite round them. To accomplish this, he ordered a deep channel to be dug fifteen miles long ; and that the natives might not think he treated them like slaves, he not only forced the

inhabitants, but also his own soldiers, to labor in carrying it on. As he set a vast number of men to work, he beyond all men's expectations brought it to a speedy conclusion. And his neighbours, who at first laughed at the folly of the undertaking, no sooner saw it brought to perfection, than they were struck with admiration and terror.

There are fifty-four cities in the island, all large and well built; the manners, customs, and laws of which are the same, and they are all contrived as near in the same manner as the ground on which they stand will allow. The nearest lie at least twenty-four miles distance from one another, and the most remote are not so far distant, but that a man can go on foot in one day from it to that which lies next it. Every city sends three of their wisest senators once a year to Amaurot, to consult about their common concerns; for that is the chief town of the island, being situated near the centre of it, so that it is the most convenient place for their assemblies. The jurisdiction of every city extends at least twenty miles; and where the towns lie wider, they have much more ground. No town desires to enlarge its bounds, for the people consider themselves rather as tenants than landlords. They have built over all the country farm-houses for husbandmen, which are well contrived, and are

furnished with all things necessary for country labor. Inhabitants are sent by turns from the cities to dwell in them; no country family has fewer than forty men and women in it, besides two slaves. There is a master and a mistress set over every family; and over thirty families there is a magistrate. Every year twenty of this family come back to the town, after they have stayed two years in the country; and in their room there are other twenty sent from the town, that they may learn country work from those that have been already one year in the country, as they must teach those that come to them the next from the town. By this means such as dwell in those country farms, are never ignorant of agriculture, and so commit no errors, which might otherwise be fatal, and bring them under a scarcity of corn. But though there is every year such a shifting of the husbandmen, to prevent any man being forced against his will to follow that hard course of life too long; yet many among them take such pleasure in it, that they desire leave to continue in it many years. These husbandmen till the ground, breed cattle, hew wood, and convey it to the towns, either by land or water, as is most convenient.

They breed an infinite multitude of chickens in a very curious manner: for the hens do not sit and hatch them; but vast numbers of eggs

are laid in a gentle and equal heat, in order to be hatched; and they are no sooner out of the shell, and able to stir about, but they seem to consider those that feed them as their mothers, and follow them as other chickens do the hen that hatched them. They breed very few horses, but those they have are full of mettle, and are kept only for exercising their youth in the art of sitting and riding them; for they do not put them to any work, either of ploughing or carriage, in which they employ oxen; for though their horses are stronger, yet they find oxen can hold out longer; and as they are not subject to so many diseases, so they are kept upon a less charge, and with less trouble; and even when they are so worn out that they are no more fit for labor, they are good meat at last. They sow no corn but that which is to be their bread; for they drink either wine, cider, or perry, and often water, sometimes boiled with honey or licorice, with which they abound; and though they know exactly how much corn will serve every town, and all that tract of country which belongs to it, yet they sow much more, and breed more cattle than are necessary for their consumption; and they give that overplus of which they make no use to their neighbours. When they want any thing in the country which it does not produce, they fetch that from the town, without carrying any thing

in exchange for it: and the magistrates of the town take care to see it given them; for they meet generally in the town once a month, upon a festival day. When the time of harvest comes, the magistrates in the country send to those in the towns, and let them know how many hands they will need for reaping the harvest; and the number they call for being sent to them, they commonly despatch it all in one day.

OF THEIR TOWNS.

He that knows one of their towns, knows them all, they are so like one another, except where the situation makes some difference. I shall therefore describe one of them; and none is so proper as Amaurot: for as none is more eminent, all the rest yielding in precedence to this, because it is the seat of their supreme council, so there was none of them better known to me, I having lived five years altogether in it.

It lies upon the side of a hill, or rather a rising ground. Its figure is almost square, for from the one side of it, which shoots up almost to the top of the hill, it runs down in a descent for two miles to the river Anyder; but it is a little broad-

er the other way that runs along by the bank of that river. The Anyder rises about eighty miles above Amaurot, in a small spring at first; but other brooks falling into it, of which two are more considerable than the rest, as it runs by Amaurot it is grown half a mile broad; but it still grows larger and larger, till after sixty miles' course below it, it is lost in the ocean. Between the town and the sea, and for some miles above the town, it ebbs and flows every six hours, with a strong current. The tide comes up for about thirty miles so full, that there is nothing but salt water in the river, the fresh water being driven back with its force; and above that, for some miles, the water is brackish; but a little higher, as it runs by the town, it is quite fresh; and when the tide ebbs, it continues fresh all along to the sea. There is a bridge cast over the river, not of timber, but of fair stone, consisting of many stately arches; it lies at that part of the town which is farthest from the sea, so that ships without any hindrance lie all along the side of the town. There is likewise another river that runs by it, which though it is not great, yet it runs pleasantly, for it rises out of the same hill on which the town stands, and so runs down through it, and falls into the Anyder. The inhabitants have fortified the fountain-head of this river, which springs a little without the town; that so, if

they should happen to be besieged, the enemy might not be able to stop or divert the course of the water, nor poison it. From thence it is carried in earthen pipes to the lower streets; and for those places of the town to which the water of that small river cannot be conveyed, they have great cisterns for receiving the rain-water, which supplies the want of the other.

The town is compassed with a high and thick wall, in which there are many towers and forts; there is also a broad and deep dry ditch, set thick with thorns, cast round three sides of the town, and the river is instead of a ditch on the fourth side. The streets are very convenient for all carriage, and are well sheltered from the winds. Their buildings are good, and are so uniform, that a whole side of a street looks like one house. The streets are twenty feet broad; there lie gardens behind all their houses; these are large, but enclosed with buildings, that on all hands face the streets; so that every house has both a door to the street, and a back door to the garden. Their doors have all two leaves, which as they are easily opened, so they shut of their own accord; and there being no property among them, every man may freely enter into any house whatsoever. At every ten years' end they shift their houses by lots. They cultivate their gardens with great care, so that they have both vines,

fruits, herbs and flowers in them ; and all is so well ordered, and so finely kept, that I never saw gardens any where that were both so fruitful and so beautiful as theirs. And this humor of ordering their gardens so well, is not only kept up by the pleasure they find in it, but also by an emulation between the inhabitants of the several streets, who vie with each other ; and there is indeed nothing belonging to the whole town that is both more useful and more pleasant. So that he who founded the town, seems to have taken care of nothing more than of their gardens ; for they say, the whole scheme of the town was designed at first by Utopus, but he left all that belonged to the ornament and improvement of it to be added by those that should come after him, that being too much for one man to bring to perfection.

Their records, that contain the history of their town and state, are preserved with an exact care, and run backwards 1760 years. From these it appears, that their houses were at first low and mean, like cottages, made of any sort of timber, and were built with mud walls, and thatched with straw. But now their houses are three stories high, the fronts of them are faced either with stone, plastering, or brick ; and between the facings of their walls they throw in their rubbish. Their roofs are flat, and on them they lay a sort of

plaster which costs very little, and yet is so tempered that it is not apt to take fire, and yet resists the weather more than lead. They have great quantities of glass among them, with which they glaze their windows : they use also in their windows a thin linen cloth, that is so oiled or gummed, that it both keeps out the wind, and gives free admission to the light.

OF THEIR MAGISTRATES.

Thirty families choose every year a magistrate, who was anciently called the Syphogrant, but is now called the Philarch ; and over every ten Syphogrants, with the families subject to them, there is another magistrate, who was anciently called the Tranibore, but of late the Archphilarch. All the Syphogrants, who are in number two hundred, choose the Prince out of a list of four, who are named by the people of the four divisions of the city ; but they take an oath, before they proceed to an election, that they will choose him whom they think most fit for the office. They give their voices secretly, so that it is not known for whom every one gives his suffrage. The Prince is for life, unless he is removed upon

suspicion of some design to enslave the people. The Tranibors are new chosen every year, but yet they are for the most part continued : all their other magistrates are only annual. The Tranibors meet every third day, and oftener, if necessary, and consult with the prince, either concerning the affairs of the state in general, or such private differences as may arise sometimes among the people ; though that falls out but seldom. There are always two Syphogrants called into the council chamber, and these are changed every day. It is a fundamental rule of their government, that no conclusion can be made in any thing that relates to the public, till it has been first debated three several days in their council. It is death for any to meet and consult concerning the state, unless it be either in their ordinary council, or in the assembly of the whole body of the people.

These things have been so provided among them, that the Prince and the Tranibors may not conspire together to change the government, and enslave the people ; and therefore when any thing of great importance is set on foot, it is sent to the Syphogrants ; who, after they have communicated it to the families that belong to their divisions, and have considered it among themselves, make report to the senate ; and upon great occasions, the matter is referred to the

council of the whole island. One rule observed in their council is, never to debate a thing on the same day in which it is first proposed ; for that is always referred to the next meeting, that so men may not rashly, and in the heat of discourse, engage themselves too soon, which might bias them so much, that instead of consulting the good of the public, they might rather study to support their first opinions ; and by a perverse and preposterous sort of shame, hazard their country, rather than endanger their own reputation, or venture the being suspected to have wanted foresight in the expedients that they at first proposed. And therefore to prevent this, they take care that they may rather be deliberate than sudden in their motions.

OF THEIR TRADES.

Agriculture is that which is so universally understood among them, that no person, either man or woman, is ignorant of it. They are instructed in it from their childhood, partly by what they learn at school, and partly by practice ; they being led out often into the fields, about the town, where they not only see others at work, but are

likewise exercised in it themselves. Besides agriculture, which is so common to them all, every man has some peculiar trade to which he applies himself, such as the manufacture of wool or flax, masonry, smith's work, or carpenter's work ; for there is no sort of trade that is in great esteem among them. Throughout the island they wear the same sort of clothes, without any other distinction except what is necessary to distinguish the two sexes, and the married and unmarried. The fashion never alters ; and as it is neither disagreeable nor uneasy, so it is suited to the climate, and calculated both for their summers and winters. Every family makes their own clothes ; but all among them, women as well as men, learn one or other of the trades formerly mentioned. Women, for the most part, deal in wool and flax, which suit best with their weakness, leaving the ruder trades to the men. The same trade generally passes down from father to son, inclinations often following descent. But if any man's genius lies another way, he is by adoption translated into a family that deals in the trade to which he is inclined ; and when that is to be done, care is taken not only by his father, but by the magistrate, that he may be put to a discreet and good man. And if after a person has learned one trade, he desires to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed in the

same manner as the former. When he has learned both, he follows that which he likes best, unless the public has more occasion for the other.

The chief, and almost the only business of the Syphogrants, is to take care that no man may live idle, but that every man may follow his trade diligently. Yet they do not wear themselves out with perpetual toil, from morning to night, as if they were beasts of burden, which as it is indeed a heavy slavery, so it is every where the common course of life amongst all mechanics except the Utopians. But they, dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, appoint six of these for work, three of which are before dinner, and three after; they then sup, and at eight o'clock, counting from noon, go to bed and sleep eight hours. The rest of their time, besides that taken up in work, eating and sleeping, is left to every man's discretion; yet they are not to abuse that interval to luxury and idleness, but must employ it in some proper exercise according to their various inclinations, which is for the most part reading. It is ordinary to have public lectures every morning before daybreak, at which none are obliged to appear but those who are marked out for literature; yet a great many, both men and women, of all ranks, go to hear lectures of one sort or other, according to their

inclinations. But if others, that are not made for contemplation, choose rather to employ themselves at that time in their trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are rather commended, as men that take care to serve their country. After supper, they spend an hour in some diversion, in summer in their gardens, and in winter in the halls where they eat; where they entertain each other either with music or discourse. They do not so much as know dice, or any such foolish and mischievous games. They have, however, two sorts of games not unlike our chess; the one is between several numbers, in which one number, as it were, consumes another; the other resembles a battle between the virtues and the vices, in which the enmity in the vices among themselves, and their agreement against virtue, is not unpleasantly represented; together with the special oppositions between the particular virtues and vices; as also the methods by which vice either openly assaults or secretly undermines virtue, and virtue on the other hand resists it.

But the time appointed for labor is to be narrowly examined; otherwise you may imagine, that since there are only six hours appointed for work, they may fall under a scarcity of necessary provisions. But it is so far from being true, that this time is not sufficient for supplying them

with plenty of all things, either necessary or convenient, that it is rather too much ; and this you will easily apprehend, if you consider how great a part of all other nations is quite idle. First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind ; and if some few women are diligent, their husbands are idle. Then consider the great company of idle priests, and of those that are called religious men. Add to these all rich men, chiefly those that have estates in land, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle persons, that are kept more for show than use. Add to these, all those strong and lusty beggars, that go about pretending some disease, in excuse for their begging ; and upon the whole account you will find, that the number of those by whose labors mankind is supplied, is much less than you perhaps imagined. Then consider how few of those that work, are employed in labors that are of real service ; for we who measure all things by money, give rise to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support riot and luxury. For if those who work were employed only in such things as the conveniencies of life require, there would be such an abundance of them, that the prices of them would so sink, that tradesmen could not be maintained by their gains. If all those who labor about useless

things, were set to more profitable employments, and if all they that languish out their lives in sloth and idleness,—every one of whom consumes as much as any two of the men that are at work,—were forced to labor, you may easily imagine that a small proportion of time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to mankind, especially while pleasure is kept within its due bounds.

This appears very plainly in Utopia; for there, in a great city, and in all the territory that lies round it, you can scarce find five hundred, either men or women, by their age and strength capable of labor, that are not engaged in it. Even the Syphogrants, though excused by the law, yet do not excuse themselves, but work, that by their examples they may excite the industry of the rest of the people. The like exemption is allowed to those, who being recommended to the people by the priests, are, by the secret suffrages of the Syphogrants, privileged from labor, that they may apply themselves wholly to study; and if any of these fall short of those hopes that they seemed at first to give, they are obliged to return to work. And sometimes a mechanic, that so employs his leisure hours as to make a considerable advancement in learning, is eased from being a tradesman, and ranked among their learned men. Out of these they choose their ambas-

sadors, their priests, their Tranibors, and the prince himself, anciently called their Barzenes, but he is called of late their Ademus.

And thus from the great numbers among them that are neither suffered to be idle nor to be employed in any fruitless labor, you may easily make the estimate how much may be done in those few hours in which they are obliged to labor. But besides all that has been already said, it is to be considered, that the needful arts among them are managed with less labor than any where else. The building, or the repairing of houses among us, employ many hands, because often a thriftless heir suffers a house that his father built, to fall into decay, so that his successor must, at a great cost, repair that which he might have kept up with a small charge. It frequently happens, that the same house which one person built at a vast expense, is neglected by another, who thinks he has a more delicate sense of the beauties of architecture; and he suffering it to fall to ruin, builds another at no less charge. But among the Utopians, all things are so regulated, that men very seldom build upon a new piece of ground; and are not only very quick in repairing their houses, but show their foresight in preventing their decay. So that their buildings are preserved very long, with but little labor; and thus the builders, to whom that care belongs, are of-

ten without employment, except the hewing of timber and the squaring of stones, that the materials may be in readiness for raising a building very suddenly, when there is any occasion for it.

As to their clothes, observe how little work is spent in them. While they are at labor, they are clothed with leather and skins, cast carelessly about them, which will last seven years; and when they appear in public, they put on an upper garment, which hides the other; and these are all of one color, and that is the natural color of the wool. As they need less woollen cloth than is used any where else, so that which they make use of is much less costly. They use linen cloth more; but that is prepared with less labor, and they value cloth only by the whiteness of the linen, or the cleanness of the wool, without much regard to the fineness of the thread; while in other places, four or five upper garments of woollen cloth, of different colors, and as many vests of silk, will scarce serve one man. And while those that are nicer think ten too few, every man there is content with one, which very often serves him two years. Nor is there any thing that can tempt a man to desire more; for if he had them, he would neither be the warmer, nor would he make one jot the better appearance for it. And thus, since they are all employed in some useful labor, and since they content them-

selves with fewer things, it falls out that there is a great abundance of all things among them ; so that it frequently happens, that for want of other work, vast numbers are sent out to mend the highways. But when no public undertaking is to be performed, the hours of working are lessened. The magistrates never engage the people in unnecessary labor, since the chief end of the constitution is to regulate labor by the necessities of the public, and to allow all the people as much time as is necessary for the improvement of their minds, in which they think the happiness of life consists.

OF THEIR MANNER OF LIVING.

But it is now time to explain to you the mutual intercourse of this people, their commerce, and the rules by which all things are distributed among them.

As their cities are composed of families, so their families are made up of those that are nearly related to one another. Their women, when they grow up, are married out ; but all the males, both children and grandchildren, live still in the same house, in great obedience to their

common parent, unless age has weakened his understanding ; and in that case he that is next to him in age, comes in his room. But lest any city should become either too great, or by any accident be dispeopled, provision is made that none of their cities may contain above six thousand families, besides those of the country round it. No family may have less than ten, nor • more than sixteen persons in it ; but there can be no determined number for the children under age. This rule is easily observed, by removing some of the children of a more fruitful couple, to any other family that does not abound so much in them. By the same rule, they supply cities that do not increase so fast, from others that breed faster. And if there is any increase over the whole island, then they draw out a number of their citizens out of the several towns, and send them over to the neighbouring continent ; where, if they find that the inhabitants have more soil than they can well cultivate, they fix a colony, taking the inhabitants into their society, if they are willing to live with them ; and where they do that of their own accord, they quickly enter into their method of life, and conform to their rules ; and this proves a happiness to both nations ; for according to their constitution, such care is taken of the soil, that it becomes fruitful enough for both, though it might be otherwise

too narrow and barren for any one of them. But if the natives refuse to conform themselves to their laws, they drive them out of those bounds which they mark out for themselves, and use force if they resist. For they account it a very just cause of war, for a nation to hinder others from possessing a part of that soil, of which they make no use, but which is suffered to lie idle and uncultivated; since every man has by the law of nature a right to such a waste portion of the earth as is necessary for his subsistence. If an accident has so lessened the number of the inhabitants of any of their towns, that it cannot be made up from the other towns of the island, without diminishing them too much, — which is said to have fallen out but twice, since they were first a people, when great numbers were carried off by the plague, — the loss is then supplied by recalling as many as are wanted from their colonies; for they will abandon these, rather than suffer the towns in the island to sink too low.

But to return to their manner of living in society: the oldest man of every family, as has been already said, is its governor. Wives serve their husbands, and children their parents, and always the younger serves the elder. Every city is divided into four equal parts, and in the middle of each there is a market-place. What is

brought thither, and manufactured by the several families, is carried from thence to houses appointed for that purpose, in which all things of a sort are laid by themselves; and thither every father goes and takes whatsoever he or his family stand in need of, without either paying for it, or leaving any thing in exchange. There is no reason for giving a denial to any person, since there is such plenty of every thing among them; and there is no danger of a man's asking for more than he needs. They have no inducements to do this, since they are sure that they shall always be supplied. It is the fear of want that makes any of the whole race of animals either greedy or ravenous; but besides fear, there is in man a pride that makes him fancy it a particular glory to excel others in pomp and excess. But by the laws of the Utopians there is no room for this. Near these markets there are others for all sorts of provisions, where there are not only herbs, fruits, and bread, but also fish, fowl, and cattle.

There are also, without their towns, places appointed near some running water, for killing their beasts, and for washing away their filth; which is done by their slaves: for they suffer none of their citizens to kill their cattle, because they think that pity and good nature, which are among the best of those affections that are born

with us, are much impaired by the butchering of animals ; nor do they suffer any thing that is foul or unclean to be brought within their towns, lest the air should be infected by ill smells which might prejudice their health. In every street there are great halls, that lie at an equal distance from each other, distinguished by particular names. The Syphogrants dwell in those, that are set over thirty families, fifteen lying on one side of it, and as many on the other. In these halls they all meet and have their repasts. The stewards of every one of them come to the market-place at an appointed hour ; and according to the number of those that belong to the hall, they carry home provisions.

But they take more care of their sick than of any others ; these are lodged and provided for in public hospitals. They have belonging to every town four hospitals, that are built without their walls, and are so large that they may pass for little towns. By this means, if they had ever such a number of sick persons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at such a distance, that such of them as are sick of infectious diseases may be kept so far from the rest, that there can be no danger of contagion. The hospitals are furnished and stored with all things that are convenient for the ease and recovery of the sick ; and those that are put in them are looked after

with such tender and watchful care, and are so constantly attended by their skilful physicians, that as none are sent to them against their will, so there is scarce one in a whole town, that if he should fall ill, would not choose rather to go thither, than lie sick at home.

After the steward of the hospitals has taken for the sick whatsoever the physician prescribes, then the best things that are left in the market are distributed equally among the halls, in proportion to their numbers; only, in the first place, they serve the prince, the chief priest, the Tranibors, the ambassadors, and strangers, if there are any; which indeed falls out but seldom, and for whom there are houses well furnished, particularly appointed for their reception when they come among them. At the hours of dinner and supper, the whole Syphogranty being called together by sound of trumpet, they meet and eat together, except only such as are in the hospitals, or lie sick at home. Yet after the halls are served, no man is hindered to carry provisions home from the market-place; for they know that none does that but for some good reason; for though any that will may eat at home, yet none does it willingly, since it is both ridiculous and foolish for any to give themselves the trouble to make ready an ill dinner at home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him

so near hand. All the uneasy and sordid services about these halls are performed by their slaves ; but the dressing and cooking their meat, and the ordering their tables, belong only to the women, all those of every family taking it by turns.

They sit at three or more tables, according to their number ; the men sit towards the wall, and the women sit on the other side, that if any of them should be taken suddenly ill, which is no uncommon case amongst women with child, she may, without disturbing the rest, rise and go to the nurses' room, who are there with the sucking children ; where there is always clean water at hand, and cradles in which they may lay the young children, if there is occasion for it, and a fire, that they may shift and dress them before it. Every child is nursed by its own mother, if death or sickness does not intervene ; and in that case the Syphogrants' wives find out a nurse quickly, which is no hard matter ; for any one that can do it, offers herself cheerfully : for as they are much inclined to that piece of mercy, so the child whom they nurse considers the nurse as its mother. All the children under five years old sit among the nurses ; the rest of the younger sort of both sexes, till they are fit for marriage, either serve those that sit at table, or if they are not strong enough for that, stand by

them in great silence, and eat what is given them; nor have they any other formality of dining. In the middle of the first table, which stands across the upper end of the hall, sit the Syphogrant and his wife; for that is the chief and most conspicuous place. Next to him sit two of the most ancient, for there go always four to a mess. If there is a temple within that Syphogranty, the priest and his wife sit with the Syphogrant above all the rest. Next them there is a mixture of old and young, who are so placed, that as the young are set near others, so they are mixed with the more ancient; which they say was appointed on this account, that the gravity of the old people, and the reverence that is due to them, might restrain the younger from all indecent words and gestures. Dishes are not served up to the whole table at first, but the best are first set before the old, whose seats are distinguished from the young, and after them all the rest are served alike. The old men distribute to the younger any curious meats that happen to be set before them, if there is not such an abundance of them that the whole company may be served alike.

Thus old men are honored with a particular respect; yet all the rest fare as well as they. Both dinner and supper are begun with some lecture of morality that is read to them; but it is

so short, that it is not tedious nor uneasy to them to hear it. From hence the old men take occasion to entertain those about them with some useful and pleasant enlargements; but they do not engross the whole discourse so to themselves, during their meals, that the younger may not put in for a share; on the contrary, they engage them to talk, that so they may, in that free way of conversation, find out the force of every one's spirit, and observe his temper. They despatch their dinners quickly, but sit long at supper; because they go to work after the one, and are to sleep after the other, during which they think the stomach carries on the concoction more vigorously. They never sup without music; and there is always fruit served up after meat; while they are at table, some burn perfumes, and sprinkle about fragrant ointments and sweet waters; in short, they want nothing that may cheer up their spirits. They give themselves a large allowance that way, and indulge themselves in such pleasures as are attended with no inconvenience. Thus do those that are in the towns live together; but in the country, where they live at a great distance, every one eats at home, and no family wants any necessary sort of provision, for it is from them that provisions are sent unto those that live in the towns.

OF THEIR TRAVELLING.

If any man has a mind to visit his friends that live in some other town, or desires to travel and see the rest of the country, he obtains leave very easily from the Syphogrant and Tranibors, when there is no particular occasion for him at home. Such as travel carry with them a passport from the prince, which both certifies the license that is granted for travelling, and limits the time of their return. They are furnished with a wagon and a slave, who drives the oxen, and looks after them ; but unless there are women in the company, the wagon is sent back at the end of the journey, as a needless encumbrance. While they are on the road, they carry no provisions with them ; yet they want for nothing, but are every where treated as if they were at home. If they stay in any place longer than a night, every one follows his proper occupation, and is very well used by those of his own trade. But if any man goes out of the city to which he belongs, without leave, and is found rambling without a passport, he is severely treated, he is punished as a fugitive, and sent home disgracefully ; and if he falls again into the like fault, is condemned to slavery. If any man has a mind to travel only over the precinct of his own city, he may freely do it with

his father's permission and his wife's consent ; but when he comes into any of the country houses, if he expects to be entertained by them, he must labor with them and conform to their rules ; and if he does this, he may freely go over the whole precinct, being thus as useful to the city to which he belongs as if he were still within it. Thus you see that there are no idle persons among them, nor pretences of excusing any from labor. There are no taverns, no ale-houses nor stews among them ; nor any other occasions of corrupting each other, of getting into corners, or forming themselves into parties. All men live in full view, so that all are obliged both to perform their ordinary task and to employ themselves well in their spare hours. And it is certain that a people thus ordered must live in great abundance of all things ; and these being equally distributed among them, no man can want, or be obliged to beg.

OF THEIR TREASURE.

In their great council at Amaurot, to which there are three sent from every town once a year, they examine what towns abound in provisions,

and what are under any scarcity, that so the one may be furnished from the other; and this is done freely, without any sort of exchange; for according to their plenty or scarcity, they supply or are supplied from one another; so that indeed the whole island is, as it were, one family. When they have thus taken care of their whole country, and laid up stores for two years, which they do to prevent the ill consequences of an unfavorable season, they order an exportation of the overplus, both of corn, honey, wool, flax, wood, wax, tallow, leather and cattle; which they send out, commonly in great quantities, to other nations. They order a seventh part of all these goods to be freely given to the poor of the countries to which they send them, and sell the rest at moderate rates. And by this exchange they not only bring back those few things that they need at home, (for indeed they scarce need any thing but iron,) but likewise a great deal of gold and silver; and by their driving this trade so long, it is not to be imagined how vast a treasure they have got among them; so that now they do not much care whether they sell off their merchandise for money in hand, or upon trust. A great part of their treasure is now in bonds; but in all their contracts no private man stands bound, but the writing runs in the name of the town; and the towns that owe them money, raise it from those private

hands that owe it to them, lay it up in their public chamber, or enjoy the profit of it till the Utopians call for it; and they choose rather to let the greatest part of it lie in their hands, who make advantage by it, than to call for it themselves. But if they see that any of their other neighbours stand more in need of it, then they call it in and lend it to them. Whenever they are engaged in war, which is the only occasion in which their treasury can be usefully employed, they make use of it themselves. In great extremities or sudden accidents they employ it in hiring foreign troops, whom they more willingly expose to danger than their own people. They give them great pay, knowing well that this will work even on their enemies, that it will engage them either to betray their own side, or at least to desert it, and that it is the best means of raising mutual jealousies among them. For this end they have an incredible treasure; but they do not keep it as a treasure, but in such a manner as I am almost afraid to tell, lest you think it so extravagant, as to be hardly credible. This I have the more reason to apprehend, because, if I had not seen it myself, I could not have been easily persuaded to have believed it upon any man's report.

It is certain that all things appear incredible to us in proportion as they differ from our own

customs. But one who can judge aright will not wonder to find, that since their constitution differs so much from ours, their value of gold and silver should be measured by a very different standard; for since they have no use for money among themselves, but keep it as a provision against events which seldom happen, and between which there are generally long intervening intervals, they value it no farther than it deserves, that is, in proportion to its use. So that it is plain they must prefer iron either to gold or silver; for men can no more live without iron, than without fire or water: but nature has marked out no use for the other metals, so essential as not easily to be dispensed with. The folly of men has enhanced the value of gold and silver, because of their scarcity. Whereas, on the contrary, it is their opinion, that nature, as an indulgent parent, has freely given us all the best things in great abundance, such as water and earth, but has laid up and hid from us the things that are vain and useless.

If these metals were laid up in any tower in the kingdom, it would raise a jealousy of the prince and senate, and give birth to that foolish mistrust into which the people are apt to fall, a jealousy of their intending to sacrifice the interest of the public to their own private advantage. If they should work it into vessels,

or any sort of plate, they fear that the people might grow too fond of it, and so be unwilling to let the plate be run down, if a war made it necessary to employ it in paying their soldiers. To prevent all these inconveniencies, they have fallen upon an expedient, which as it agrees with their other policy, so is it very different from ours, and will scarce gain belief among us, who value gold so much, and lay it up so carefully. They eat and drink out of vessels of earth, or glass, which make an agreeable appearance, though formed of brittle materials; while they make their chamber-pots and closestools of gold and silver; and that not only in their public halls, but in their private houses. Of the same metals they likewise make chains and fetters for their slaves; to some of which, as a badge of infamy, they hang an earring of gold, and make others wear a chain or a coronet of the same metal; and thus they take care, by all possible means, to render gold and silver of no esteem: and from hence it is, that while other nations part with their gold and silver as unwillingly as if one tore out their bowels, those of Utopia would look on their giving in all they possess of those metals, (when there were any use for them,) but as the parting with a trifle, or as we would esteem the loss of a penny. They find pearls on their coast, and carbuncles on their rocks. They do not look

after them; but if they find them by chance, they polish them, and with them they adorn their children, who are delighted with them, and glory in them during their childhood; but when they grow to years, and see that none but children use such baubles, they of their own accord, without being bid by their parents, lay them aside; and would be as much ashamed to use them afterwards, as children among us, when they come to years, are of their puppets and other toys.

I never saw a clearer instance of the opposite impressions that different customs make on people, than I observed in the ambassadors of the Anemolians, who came to Amaurot when I was there. As they came to treat of affairs of great consequence, the deputies from several towns met together to wait for their coming. The ambassadors of the nations that lie near Utopia, knowing their customs, and that fine clothes are in no esteem among them, that silk is despised, and gold is a badge of infamy, used to come very modestly clothed. But the Anemolians lying more remote, and having had little commerce with them, understanding that they were coarsely clothed, and all in the same manner, took it for granted that they had none of those fine things among them of which they made no use; and they being a vainglorious, rather than a wise people, resolved to set themselves out with so

much pomp, that they should look like gods, and strike the eyes of the poor Utopians with their splendor. Thus three ambassadors made their entry with an hundred attendants, all clad in garments of different colors, and the greater part in silk. The ambassadors themselves, who were of the nobility of their country, were in cloth of gold, and adorned with massy chains, earrings and rings of gold; their caps were covered with bracelets set full of pearls and other gems. In a word, they were set out with all those things, that, among the Utopians, were either the badges of slavery, the marks of infamy, or the playthings of children. It was not unpleasant to see, on the one side, how they looked big, when they compared their rich habits with the plain clothes of the Utopians, who were come out in great numbers to see them make their entry; and on the other, to observe how much they were mistaken in the impression which they hoped this pomp would have made on them. It appeared so ridiculous a show to all that had never stirred out of their country, and had not seen the customs of other nations, that though they paid some reverence to those that were the most meanly clad, as if they had been the ambassadors, yet when they saw the ambassadors themselves, so full of gold and chains, they looked upon them as slaves, and forbore to treat them with rever-

ence. You might have seen the children, who were grown big enough to despise their playthings, and who had thrown away their jewels, call to their mothers, push them gently, and cry out, "See that great fool that wears pearls and gems, as if he were yet a child." While their mothers very innocently replied, "Hold your peace; this, I believe, is one of the ambassadors' fools." Others censured the fashion of their chains, and observed that they were of no use; for they were too slight to bind their slaves, who could easily break them; and, besides, hung so loose about them, that they thought it easy to throw them away, and so get from them. But after the ambassadors had stayed a day among them, and saw so vast a quantity of gold in their houses, which was as much despised by them as it was esteemed in other nations, and beheld more gold and silver in the chains and fetters of one slave than all their ornaments amounted to, their plumes fell, and they were ashamed of all that glory for which they had formerly valued themselves, and accordingly laid it aside; a resolution that they immediately took, when on their engaging in some free discourse with the Utopians, they discovered their sense of such things, and their other customs.

The Utopians wonder how any man should be so much taken with the glaring, doubtful lustre

of a jewel or a stone, that can look up to a star, or to the sun himself; or how any should value himself because his cloth is made of a finer thread; for how fine soever that thread may be, it was once no better than the fleece of a sheep, and that sheep was a sheep still for all its wearing it. They wonder much to hear that gold, which in itself is so useless a thing, should be every where so much esteemed, that even men, for whom it was made, and by whom it has its value, should yet be thought of less value than this metal; that a man of lead, who has no more sense than a log of wood, and is as bad as he is foolish, should have many wise and good men to serve him, only because he has a great heap of that metal; and that if it should happen, that by some accident, or trick of law, (which sometimes produces as great changes as chance itself,) all this wealth should pass from the master to the meanest varlet of his whole family, he himself would very soon become one of his servants, as if he were a thing that belonged to his wealth, and so were bound to follow its fortune. But they much more admire and detest the folly of those, who, when they see a rich man, though they neither owe him any thing, nor are in any sort dependant on his bounty, yet merely because he is rich, give him little less than divine honors; even though they know him to be so covetous and

base-minded, that, notwithstanding all his wealth, he will not part with one farthing of it to them as long as he lives.

These and such like notions has that people imbibed, partly from their education, being bred in a country whose customs and laws are opposite to all such foolish maxims, and partly from their learning and studies; for though there are but few in any town that are so wholly excused from labor, as to give themselves entirely up to their studies, (these being only such persons as discover from their childhood an extraordinary capacity and disposition for letters,) yet their children, and a great part of the nation, both men and women, are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work, in reading; and this they do through the whole progress of life. They have all their learning in their own tongue, which is both a copious and pleasant language, and in which a man can fully express his mind. ' It runs over a great tract of many countries, but it is not equally pure in all places. They had never so much as heard of the names of any of those philosophers that are so famous in these parts of the world, before we went among them; and yet they had made the same discoveries as the Greeks, both in music, logic, arithmetic, and geometry. But as they are almost in every thing equal to the ancient philosophers, so

they far exceed our modern logicians; for they have never yet fallen upon the barbarous niceties that our youth are forced to learn in those trifling logical schools that are among us. They are so far from minding chimeras, and fantastical images made in the mind, that none of them could comprehend what we meant, when we talked to them of a man in the abstract, as common to all men in particular, (so that though we spoke of him as a thing that we could point at with our fingers, yet none of them could perceive him) and yet distinct from every one, as if he were some monstrous colossus or giant. Yet for all this ignorance of these empty notions, they knew astronomy, and were perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies; and have many instruments, well contrived and divided, by which they very accurately compute the course and positions of the sun, moon and stars. But for the cheat of divining by the stars, by their oppositions or conjunctions, it has not so much as entered into their thoughts. They have a particular sagacity, founded upon much observation, in judging of the weather, by which they know when they may look for rain, wind, or other alterations in the air. But as to the philosophy of these things, the causes of the saltness of the sea, of its ebbing and flowing, and of the original and nature both of the heavens

and the earth ; they dispute of them, partly as our ancient philosophers have done, and partly upon some new hypothesis ; in which, as they differ from them, so they do not in all things agree among themselves.

OF THEIR MORALITY.

As to moral philosophy, they have the same disputes among them as we have here. They examine what are properly good, both for the body and the mind ; and whether any outward thing can be called truly good, or if that term belong only to the endowments of the soul. They inquire likewise into the nature of virtue and pleasure ; but their chief dispute is, concerning the happiness of a man, and wherein it consists ; whether in some one thing, or in a great many. They seem indeed more inclinable to that opinion that places, if not the whole, yet the chief part of a man's happiness, in pleasure ; and, what may seem more strange, they make use of arguments even from religion, notwithstanding its severity and roughness, for the support of that opinion, so indulgent to pleasure. For they never dispute concerning happiness without fetch-

ing some arguments from the principles of religion, as well as from natural reason; since without the former they reckon that all our inquiries after happiness must be but conjectural and defective.

These are their religious principles; that the soul of man is immortal, and that God of his goodness has designed that it should be happy; and that he has therefore appointed rewards for good and virtuous actions, and punishments for vice, to be distributed after this life. Though these principles of religion are conveyed down among them by tradition, they think that even reason itself determines a man to believe and acknowledge them; and freely confess, that if these were taken away, no man would be so insensible as not to seek after pleasure by all possible means, lawful or unlawful; using only this caution, that a lesser pleasure might not stand in the way of a greater, and that no pleasure ought to be pursued, that should draw a great deal of pain after it. For they think it the maddest thing in the world to pursue virtue, that is a sour and difficult thing, and not only to renounce the pleasures of life, but willingly to undergo much pain and trouble, if a man has no prospect of a reward. And what reward can there be for one that has passed his whole life, not only without pleasure, but in pain, if there is nothing to

be expected after death? Yet they do not place happiness in all sorts of pleasures, but only in those that in themselves are good and honest.

There is a party among them who place happiness in bare virtue; others think that our natures are conducted by virtue to happiness, as that which is the chief good of man. They define virtue thus, that it is a living according to nature; and think that we are made by God for that end. They believe that a man then follows the dictates of nature, when he pursues or avoids things according to the direction of reason. They say, that the first dictate of reason is the kindling in us a love and reverence for the Divine Majesty, to whom we owe both all that we have, and all that we can ever hope for. In the next place, reason directs us to keep our minds as free from passion, and as cheerful as we can; and that we should consider ourselves as bound by the ties of good nature and humanity, to use our utmost endeavours to help forward the happiness of all other persons. For there never was any man such a morose and severe pursuer of virtue, such an enemy to pleasure, that, though he set hard rules for men to undergo, much pain, many watchings, and other rigors, yet did not at the same time advise them to do all they could in order to relieve and ease the miserable, and who did not represent gentleness and good-nature as

amiable dispositions. And from thence they infer, that if a man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of the rest of mankind, (there being no virtue more proper and peculiar to our nature, than to ease the miseries of others, to free from trouble and anxiety, in furnishing them with the comforts of life, in which pleasure consists,) nature much more vigorously leads him to do all this for himself. A life of pleasure is either a real evil (and in that case we ought not to assist others in their pursuit of it, but, on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, as from that which is most hurtful and deadly,) or if it is a good thing, so that we not only may but ought to help others to it, why then ought not a man to begin with himself? since no man can be more bound to look after the good of another than after his own; for nature cannot direct us to be good and kind to others, and yet at the same time to be unmerciful and cruel to ourselves. Thus, as they define virtue to be living according to nature, so they imagine that nature prompts all people on to seek after pleasure, as the end of all they do.

They also observe, that in order to our supporting the pleasures of life, nature inclines us to enter into society; for there is no man so much raised above the rest of mankind as to be the only favorite of nature; who, on the contrary, seems to have placed on a level all those that be-

long to the same species. Upon this they infer, that no man ought to seek his own conveniencies so eagerly as to prejudice others; and therefore they think, that not only all agreements between private persons ought to be observed, but likewise, that all those laws ought to be kept, which either a good prince has published in due form, or to which a people, that is neither oppressed with tyranny nor circumvented by fraud, has consented, for distributing those conveniencies of life which afford us all our pleasures.

They think it is an evidence of true wisdom, for a man to pursue his own advantages, as far as the laws allow it. They account it piety, to prefer the public good to one's private concerns; but they think it unjust, for a man to seek for pleasure, by snatching another man's pleasures from him. And on the contrary, they think it a sign of a gentle and good soul, for a man to dispense with his own advantage for the good of others; and that by this means, a good man finds as much pleasure one way, as he parts with another. For as he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, so if that should fail him, yet the sense of a good action, and the reflections that he makes on the love and gratitude of those whom he has so obliged, gives the mind more pleasure than the body could have found in that from which it had restrained

itself. They are also persuaded that God will make up the loss of those small pleasures with a vast and endless joy, of which religion easily convinces a good soul.

Thus upon an inquiry into the whole matter, they reckon that all our actions, and even all our virtues, terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness; and they call every motion or state, either of body or mind, in which nature teaches us to delight, a pleasure. Thus they cautiously limit pleasure only to those appetites to which nature leads us; for they say that nature leads us only to those delights to which reason as well as sense carries us, and by which we neither injure any other person, nor lose the possession of greater pleasures, and of such as draw no troubles after them. But they look upon those delights which men by a foolish, though common mistake, call pleasure, (as if they could change as easily the nature of things as the use of words,) as things that greatly obstruct their real happiness, instead of advancing it; because they so entirely possess the minds of those that are once captivated by them, with a false notion of pleasure, that there is no room left for pleasures of a truer or purer kind.

There are many things that in themselves have nothing that is truly delightful; on the contrary, they have a good deal of bitterness in

them; and yet, from our perverse appetites after forbidden objects, are not only ranked among the pleasures, but are made even the greatest designs of life. Among those who pursue these sophisticated pleasures, they reckon such as I mentioned before, who think themselves really the better for having fine clothes; in which they think they are doubly mistaken, both in the opinion that they have of their clothes, and in that they have of themselves; for if you consider the use of clothes, why should a fine thread be thought better than a coarse one? And yet these men, as if they had some real advantages beyond others, and did not owe them wholly to their mistakes, look big, seem to fancy themselves to be more valuable, and imagine that a respect is due to them for the sake of a rich garment, to which they would not have pretended, if they had been more meanly clothed; and even resent it as an affront, if that respect is not paid them. It is also a great folly to be taken with outward marks of respect, which signify nothing; for what true or real pleasure can one man find in another's standing bare, or making legs to him? Will the bending another man's knees give ease to yours? And will the head's being bare cure the madness of yours? And yet it is wonderful to see how this false notion of pleasure bewitches many, who delight themselves with the fancy of

their nobility, and are pleased with this conceit, that they are descended from ancestors who have been held for some successions rich, and who have had great possessions; for this is all that makes nobility at present. Yet they do not think themselves a whit the less noble, though their immediate parents have left none of this wealth to them, or though they themselves have squandered it away.

The Utopians have no better opinion of those who are much taken with gems and precious stones, and who account it a degree of happiness, next to a divine one, if they can purchase one that is very extraordinary, especially if it be of that sort of stones that is then in greatest request. For the same sort is not at all times universally of the same value; nor will men buy it unless it be dismounted and taken out of the gold. The jeweller is then made to give good security, and required solemnly to swear that the stone is true, that, by such an exact caution, a false one might not be bought instead of a true. Though if you were to examine it, your eye could find no difference between the counterfeit, and that which is true; so that they are all one to you as much as if you were blind. Or can it be thought that they who heap up a useless mass of wealth, not for any use that it is to bring them, but merely to please themselves with the

contemplation of it, enjoy any true pleasure in it? The delight they find is only a false shadow of joy. Those are no better, whose error is somewhat different from the former, and who hide it, out of their fear of losing it; for what other name can fit the hiding it in the earth, or rather the restoring it to it again, it being thus cut off from being useful either to its owner or to the rest of mankind? And yet the owner having hid it carefully, is glad, because he thinks he is now sure of it. If it should be stole, the owner, though he might live perhaps ten years after the theft, of which he knew nothing, would find no difference between his having, or losing it; for both ways it was equally useless to him.

Among those foolish pursuers of pleasure, they reckon all that delight in hunting, in fowling, or gaming; of whose madness they have only heard, for they have no such things among them. But they have asked us, what sort of pleasure is it that men can find in throwing the dice? For if there were any pleasure in it, they think the doing it so often should give one a surfeit of it; and what pleasure can one find in hearing the barking and howling of dogs, which seem rather odious than pleasant sounds? Nor can they comprehend the pleasure of seeing dogs run after a hare, more than of seeing one dog run after another; for if the seeing them run, is that which

gives the pleasure, you have the same entertainment to the eye on both these occasions; since that is the same in both cases. But if the pleasure lies in seeing the hare killed and torn by the dogs, this ought rather to stir pity, that a weak, harmless, and fearful hare, should be devoured by strong, fierce, and cruel dogs. Therefore all this business of hunting is, among the Utopians, turned over to their butchers; and those, as has been already said, are all slaves: and they look on hunting as one of the basest parts of a butcher's work; for they account it both more profitable and more decent to kill those beasts that are more necessary and useful to mankind; whereas the killing and tearing of so small and miserable an animal, can only attract the huntsman with a false show of pleasure, from which he can reap but small advantage. They look on the desire of the bloodshed, even of beasts, as a mark of a mind that is already corrupted with cruelty, or that at least, by the frequent returns of so brutal a pleasure, must degenerate into it.

Thus, though the rabble of mankind look upon these, and on innumerable other things of the same nature, as pleasures, the Utopians, on the contrary, observing that there is nothing in them truly pleasant, conclude that they are not to be reckoned among pleasures. For though these things may create some tickling in the senses,

(which seems to be a true notion of pleasure,) yet they imagine that this does not arise from the thing itself, but from a depraved custom, which may so vitiate a man's taste, that bitter things may pass for sweet ; as women with child think pitch or tallow tastes sweeter than honey. But as a man's sense, when corrupted either by a disease or some ill habit, does not change the nature of other things, so neither can it change the nature of pleasure.

They reckon up several sorts of pleasures, which they call true ones ; some belong to the body, and others to the mind. The pleasures of the mind lie in knowledge, and in that delight which the contemplation of truth carries with it ; to which they add the joyful reflections on a well-spent life, and the assured hopes of a future happiness. They divide the pleasures of the body into two sorts ; the one is that which gives our senses some real delight, and is performed, either by recruiting nature, and supplying those parts which feed the internal heat of life, by eating and drinking ; or when nature is eased of any surcharge that oppresses it ; when we are relieved from sudden pain ; or that which arises from satisfying the appetite which nature has wisely given to lead us to the propagation of the species. There is another kind of pleasure that arises neither from our receiving what the body

requires, nor its being relieved when overcharged, and yet, by a secret, unseen virtue, affects the senses, raises the passions, and strikes the mind with generous impressions; this is the pleasure that arises from music. Another kind of bodily pleasure is that which results from an undisturbed and vigorous constitution of body, when life and active spirits seem to actuate every part. This lively health, when entirely free from all mixture of pain, of itself gives an inward pleasure, independent of all external objects of delight; and though this pleasure does not so powerfully affect us, nor act so strongly on the senses as some of the others, yet it may be esteemed as the greatest of all pleasures, and almost all the Utopians reckon it the foundation and basis of all the other joys of life; since this alone makes the state of life easy and desirable; and when this is wanting, a man is really capable of no other pleasure.

They look upon freedom from pain, if it does not rise from perfect health, to be a state of stupidity, rather than of pleasure. This subject has been very narrowly canvassed among them; and it has been debated whether a firm and entire health could be called a pleasure or not. Some have thought that there was no pleasure but was excited by some sensible motion in the body. But this opinion has been long ago ex-

cluded from among them, so that now they almost universally agree, that health is the greatest of all bodily pleasures ; and that as there is a pain in sickness, which is as opposite in its nature to pleasure, as sickness itself is to health, so they hold, that health is accompanied with pleasure ; and if any should say, that sickness is not really pain, but that it only carries pain along with it, they look upon that as a fetch of subtilty, that does not much alter the matter. It is all one in their opinion, whether it be said, that health is in itself a pleasure, or that it begets a pleasure, as fire gives heat ; so it be granted, that all those whose health, is entire, have a true pleasure in the enjoyment of it. And they reason thus, What is the pleasure of eating, but that a man's health, which had been weakened, does, with the assistance of food, drive away hunger, and so recruiting itself, recovers its former vigor ? And being thus refreshed, it finds a pleasure in that conflict ; and if the conflict is pleasure, the victory must yet breed a greater pleasure, except we fancy that it becomes stupid as soon as it has obtained that which it pursued, and so neither knows nor rejoices in its own welfare. If it is said that health cannot be felt, they absolutely deny it ; for what man is in health, that does not perceive it when he is awake ? Is there any man that is so dull and

stupid as not to acknowledge that he feels a delight in health? And what is delight but another name for pleasure?

But of all pleasures, they esteem those to be most valuable that lie in the mind; the chief of which arise out of true virtue, and the witness of a good conscience. They account health the chief pleasure that belongs to the body; for they think that the pleasure of eating and drinking, and all the other delights of sense, are only so far desirable, as they give or maintain health. But they are not pleasant in themselves, otherwise than as they resist those impressions that our natural infirmities are still making upon us; for as a wise man desires rather to avoid diseases, than to take physic, and to be free from pain, rather than to find ease by remedies; so it is more desirable not to need this sort of pleasure, than to be obliged to indulge it. If any man imagines that there is a real happiness in these enjoyments, he must then confess that he would be the happiest of all men, if he were to lead his life in perpetual hunger, thirst, and itching, and by consequence in perpetual eating, drinking, and scratching himself; which any one may easily see would be not only a base but a miserable state of life. These are indeed the lowest of pleasures, and the least pure; for we can never relish them but when they are mixed with the

contrary pains. The pain of hunger must give us the pleasure of eating ; and here the pain outbalances the pleasure : and as the pain is more vehement, so it lasts much longer ; for as it begins before the pleasure, so it does not cease but with the pleasure that extinguishes it, and both expire together. They think, therefore, none of those pleasures are to be valued any further than as they are necessary ; yet they rejoice in them, and with due gratitude acknowledge the tenderness of the great Author of nature, who has planted in us appetites, by which those things that are necessary for our preservation are likewise made pleasant to us. For how miserable a thing would life be, if those daily diseases of hunger and thirst were to be carried off by such bitter drugs as we must use for those diseases that return seldomer upon us ? And thus these pleasant as well as proper gifts of nature maintain the strength and the sprightliness of our bodies.

They also entertain themselves with the other delights let in at their eyes, their ears, and their nostrils, as the pleasant relishes and seasonings of life, which nature seems to have marked out peculiarly for man : since no other sort of animals contemplates the figure and beauty of the universe ; nor is delighted with smells, any farther than as they distinguish meats by them ;

nor do they apprehend the concords or discords of sound. Yet in all pleasures whatsoever, they take care that a lesser joy does not hinder a greater, and that pleasure may never breed pain, which they think always follows dishonest pleasures. But they think it madness for a man to wear out the beauty of his face or the force of his natural strength, to corrupt the sprightliness of his body by sloth and laziness, or to waste it by fasting; that it is madness to weaken the strength of his constitution, and reject the other delights of life; unless by renouncing his own satisfaction, he can either serve the public or promote the happiness of others, for which he expects a great recompense from God. So that they look on such a course of life as the mark of a mind that is both cruel to itself and ungrateful to the Author of nature, as if we would not be beholden to him for his favors, and therefore reject all his blessings; as one who should afflict himself for the empty shadow of virtue, or for no better end than to render himself capable of bearing those misfortunes, which possibly will never happen.

This is their notion of virtue and of pleasure; they think that no man's reason can carry him to a truer idea of them, unless some discovery from heaven should inspire him with sublimer notions. I have not now the leisure to examine

whether they think right or wrong in this matter ; nor do I judge it necessary, for I have only undertaken to give you an account of their constitution but not to defend all their principles. I am sure, that whatsoever may be said of their notions, there is not in the whole world either a better people or a happier government. Their bodies are vigorous and lively ; and though they are of a middle stature, and have neither the fruitfulest soil nor the purest air in the world, yet they fortify themselves so well, by their temperate course of life, against the unhealthiness of their air, and by their industry they so cultivate their soil, that there is no where to be seen a greater increase both of corn and cattle, nor are there any where healthier men, and freer from diseases. For one may there see reduced to practice, not only all the art that the husbandman employs in manuring and improving an ill soil, but whole woods plucked up by the roots, and in other places new ones planted, where there were none before. Their principal motive for this is the convenience of carriage, that their timber may be either near their towns, or growing on the banks of the sea, or of some rivers, so as to be floated to them ; for it is a harder work to carry wood at any distance over land, than corn. The people are industrious, apt to learn, as well as cheerful and pleasant ; and

none can endure more labor, when it is necessary ; but except in that case, they love their ease.

OF THEIR LEARNING.

They are unwearied pursuers of knowledge ; for when we had given them some hints of the learning and discipline of the Greeks, concerning whom we only instructed them, (for we know that there was nothing among the Romans, except their historians and their poets, that they would value much,) it was strange to see how eagerly they were set on learning that language. We began to read a little of it to them, rather in compliance with their importunity, than out of any hopes of their reaping from it any great advantage ; but after a very short trial, we found they made such progress, that we saw our labor was like to be more successful than we could have expected. They learned to write their characters and to pronounce their language so exactly, had so quick an apprehension, they remembered it so faithfully, and became so ready and correct in the use of it, that it would have looked like a miracle, if the greater part of those whom we taught had not been men both of extra-

ordinary capacity and of a fit age for instruction. They were, for the greatest part, chosen from among their learned men by their chief council, though some studied it of their own accord. In three years time they became masters of the whole language, so that they read the best of the Greek authors very exactly. I am indeed apt to think that they learned that language the more easily, from its having some relation to their own. I believe that they were a colony of the Greeks; for though their language comes nearer the Persian, yet they retain many names, both for their towns and magistrates, that are of Greek derivation. I happened to carry a great many books with me, instead of merchandise, when I sailed my fourth voyage; for I was so far from thinking of soon coming back, that I rather thought never to have returned at all; and I gave them all my books, among which were many of Plato's and some of Aristotle's works. I had also Theophrastus on Plants, which, to my great regret, was imperfect; for having laid it carelessly by, while we were at sea, a monkey had seized upon it and in many places torn out the leaves. They have no books of grammar but Lascaris, for I did not carry Theodorus with me; nor have they any dictionaries but Hesychius and Dioscorides. They esteem Plutarch highly, and were much taken with Lucian's wit, and with his pleasant

way of writing. As for the poets, they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles of Aldus's edition ; and for historians, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian. One of my companions, Thricius Apinatus, happened to carry with him some of Hippocrates's works, and Galen's Microtechne, which they hold in great estimation ; for though there is no nation in the world that needs physic so little as they do, yet there is not any that honors it so much. They reckon the knowledge of it one of the pleasantest and most profitable parts of philosophy ; by which, as they search into the secrets of nature, so they not only find this study highly agreeable, but think that such inquiries are very acceptable to the Author of nature ; and imagine, that as he, like the inventors of curious engines amongst mankind, has exposed this great machine of the universe to the view of the only creatures capable of contemplating it, so an exact and curious observer, who admires his workmanship, is much more acceptable to him than one of the herd, who, like a beast incapable of reason, looks on this glorious scene with the eyes of a dull and unconcerned spectator.

The minds of the Utopians, when fenced with a love for learning, are very ingenious in discovering all such arts as are necessary to carry it to perfection. Two things they owe to us, the

manufacture of paper and the art of printing ; yet they are not so entirely indebted to us for these discoveries, but that a greater part of the invention was their own. We showed them some books printed by Aldus, we explained to them the way of making paper, and the mystery of printing ; but as we had never practised these arts, we described them in a crude and superficial manner. They seized the hints we gave them, and though at first they could not arrive at perfection, yet, by making many essays, they at last found out and corrected all their errors, and conquered every difficulty. Before this they only wrote on parchment, on reeds, or on the barks of trees ; but now they have established the manufacture of paper, and set up printing presses, so that if they had but a good number of Greek authors, they would be quickly supplied with many copies of them. At present, though they have no more than those I have mentioned, yet, by several impressions, they have multiplied them into many thousands. If any man was to go among them, that had some extraordinary talent, or that by much travelling had observed the customs of many nations, (which made us to be so well received,) he would receive a hearty welcome ; for they are very desirous to know the state of the whole world. Very few go among them on account of traffic, for what can a man

carry to them but iron, or gold, or silver, which merchants desire rather to export, than import to a strange country? And as for their exportation, they think it better to manage that themselves than to leave it to foreigners; for by this means, as they understand the state of the neighbouring countries better, so they keep up the art of navigation, which cannot be maintained but by much practice.

OF THEIR SLAVES.

They do not make slaves of prisoners of war, except those that are taken in battle, nor of the sons of their slaves, nor of those of other nations. The slaves among them are only such as are condemned to that state of life for the commission of some crime, or, which is more common, such as their merchants find condemned to die in those parts to which they trade, whom they sometimes redeem at low rates, and, in other places, have them for nothing. They are kept at perpetual labor, and are always chained, but with this difference, that their own natives are treated much worse than others; they are considered as more profligate than the rest, and

since they could not be restrained by the advantages of so excellent an education, are judged worthy of harder usage. Another sort of slaves are the poor of the neighbouring countries, who offer of their own accord to come and serve them. They treat these better, and use them in all other respects as well as their own countrymen, except their imposing more labor upon them, which is no hard task to those that have been accustomed to it; and if any of these have a mind to go back to their own country, which indeed falls out but seldom, as they do not force them to stay, so they do not send them away empty-handed.

I have already told you with what care they look after their sick, so that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their ease or health: and for those who are taken with fixed and incurable diseases, they use all possible ways to cherish them, and to make their lives as comfortable as possible; they visit them often and take great pains to make their time pass off easily. But when any is taken with a torturing and lingering pain, so that there is no hope either of recovery or ease, the priests and magistrates come and exhort them, that since they are now unable to go on with the business of life, are become a burden to themselves and to all about them, and they have really outlived them-

selves, they should no longer nourish such a rooted distemper, but choose rather to die, since they cannot live but in much misery; being assured, that if they thus deliver themselves from torture, or are willing that others should do it, they shall be happy after death. Since by their acting thus, they lose none of the pleasures, but only the troubles of life, they think they behave not only reasonably, but in a manner consistent with religion and piety; because they follow the advice given them by their priests, who are the expounders of the will of God. Such as are wrought on by these persuasions, either starve themselves of their own accord, or take opium, and by that means die without pain. But no man is forced on this way of ending his life; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, this does not induce them to fail in their attendance and care of them. But as they believe that a voluntary death, when it is chosen upon such an authority, is very honorable, so if any man takes away his own life, without the approbation of the priests and the senate, they give him none of the honors of a decent funeral, but throw his body into a ditch.

OF THEIR MARRIAGES.

Their women are not married before eighteen, nor their men before two and twenty; and if any of them run into forbidden embraces before marriage, they are severely punished, and the privilege of marriage is denied them, unless they can obtain a special warrant from the prince. Such disorders cast a great reproach upon the master and mistress of the family in which they happen; for it is supposed that they have failed in their duty. The reason of punishing this so severely is, because they think that if they were not strictly restrained from all vagrant appetites, very few would engage in a state in which they venture the quiet of their whole lives, by being confined to one person, and are obliged to endure all the inconveniencies with which it is accompanied.

In choosing their wives, they use a method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous; but it is constantly observed among them, and is accounted perfectly consistent with wisdom. Before marriage, some grave matron presents the bride naked, whether she is a virgin or a widow, to the bridegroom; and after that, some grave man presents the bridegroom naked to the bride. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned it as very indecent. But they,

on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations ; who, if they are but to buy a horse of a small value, are so cautious, that they will see every part of him, and take off both his saddle and all his other tackle, that there may be no secret ulcer hid under any of them ; and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of his life, a man should venture upon trust, and only see about a hand's-breadth of the face, all the rest of the body being covered ; under which there may lie hid what may be contagious, as well as loathsome. All men are not so wise, as to choose a woman only for her good qualities ; and even wise men consider the body as that which adds not a little to the mind ; and it is certain, there may be some such deformity covered with the clothes, as may totally alienate a man from his wife, when it is too late to part with her. If such a thing is discovered after marriage, a man has no remedy but patience. They therefore think it is reasonable that there should be good provision made against such mischievous frauds.

There was so much the more reason for them to make a regulation in this matter, because they are the only people of those parts that neither allow of polygamy, nor of divorces, except in the case of adultery or insufferable perverseness.

For in these cases the senate dissolves the marriage, and grants the injured person leave to marry again ; but the guilty are made infamous, and are never allowed the privilege of a second marriage. None are suffered to put away their wives against their wills, from any great calamity that may have fallen on their persons ; for they look on it as the height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married persons, when they need most the tender care of their consort ; and that chiefly in the case of old age, which, as it carries many diseases along with it, so it is a disease of itself. But it frequently falls out, that when a married couple do not well agree, they, by mutual consent, separate, and find out other persons with whom they hope they may live more happily. Yet this is not done without obtaining leave of the senate ; which never admits of a divorce but upon a strict inquiry made, both by the senators and their wives, into the grounds upon which it is desired ; and even when they are satisfied concerning the reasons of it, they go on but slowly, for they imagine that too great easiness in granting leave for new marriages, would very much shake the kindness of married people.

They punish severely those that defile the marriage bed. If both parties are married, they are divorced, and the injured persons may marry one

another, or whom they please; but the adulterer and the adulteress are condemned to slavery. Yet if either of the injured persons cannot shake off the love of the married person, they may live with them still in that state; but they must follow them to that labor to which the slaves are condemned; and sometimes the repentance of the condemned, together with the unshaken kindness of the innocent and injured person, has prevailed so far with the prince, that he has taken off the sentence. But those that relapse, after they are once pardoned, are punished with death.

Their law does not determine the punishment for other crimes; but that is left to the senate, to temper it according to the circumstances of the fact. Husbands have power to correct their wives, and parents to chastise their children, unless the fault is so great that a public punishment is thought necessary for striking terror into others. For the most part, slavery is the punishment even of the greatest of crimes; for as that is no less terrible to the criminals themselves than death, so they think the preserving them in a state of servitude is more for the interest of the commonwealth than killing them; since as their labor is a greater benefit to the public than their death could be, so the sight of their misery is a more lasting terror to other men than that which would be given by their death. If their slaves

rebel, and will not bear their yoke and submit to the labor that is enjoined them, they are treated as wild beasts that cannot be kept in order, neither by a prison nor by their chains, and are at last put to death. But those who bear their punishment patiently, and are so much wrought on by that pressure that lies so hard on them, that it appears they are really more troubled for the crimes they have committed than for the miseries they suffer, are not out of hope, but that at last either the prince will, by his prerogative, or the people, by their intercession, restore them again to their liberty, or at least very much mitigate their slavery. He that tempts a married woman to adultery is no less severely punished than he that commits it; for they believe that a deliberate design to commit a crime is equal to the fact itself; since its not taking effect does not make the person that miscarried in his attempt at all the less guilty

They take great pleasure in fools, and as it is thought a base and unbecoming thing to use them ill, so they do not think it amiss for people to divert themselves with their folly; and, in their opinion, this is a great advantage to the fools themselves. For if men were so sullen and severe as not at all to please themselves with their ridiculous behaviour and foolish sayings, which is all that they can do to recommend themselves

to others, it could not be expected that they would be so well provided for, nor so tenderly used, as they must otherwise be. If any man should reproach another for his being misshaped or imperfect in any part of his body, it would not at all be thought a reflection on the person so treated, but it would be accounted scandalous in him that had upbraided another with that he could not help. It is thought a sign of a sluggish and sordid mind, not to preserve carefully one's natural beauty; but it is likewise infamous among them to use paint. They all see that no beauty recommends a wife so much to her husband, as the probity of her life, and her obedience; for as some few are caught and held only by beauty, so all are attracted by the other excellencies which charm all the world.

As they fright men from committing crimes by punishments, so they invite them to the love of virtue by public honors. Therefore they erect statues to the memories of such worthy men as have deserved well of their country, and set these in their market-places, both to perpetuate the remembrance of their actions, and to be an incitement to their posterity to follow their example.

If any man aspires to any office, he is sure never to compass it. They all live easily together, for none of the magistrates are either

insolent or cruel to the people. They affect rather to be called fathers, and by being really so, they well deserve the name; and the people pay them all the marks of honor the more freely, because none are exacted from them. The prince himself has no distinction, either of garments or of a crown; but is only distinguished by a sheaf of corn carried before him; as the high priest is also known by his being preceded by a person carrying a wax light.

OF THEIR LAWS.

They have but few laws, and such is their constitution, that they need not many. They very much condemn other nations, whose laws, together with the commentaries on them, swell up to so many volumes; for they think it an unreasonable thing to oblige men to obey a body of laws, that are both of such a bulk, and so dark, as not to be read and understood by every one of the subjects.

They have no lawyers among them, for they consider them as a sort of people whose profession it is to disguise matters and to wrest the laws; and therefore they think it is much better

that every man should plead his own cause, and trust it to the judge, as in other places the client trusts it to a counsellor. By this means they both cut off many delays, and find out truth more certainly. For after the parties have laid open the merits of the cause, without those artifices which lawyers are apt to suggest, the judge examines the whole matter, and supports the simplicity of such well-meaning persons, whom otherwise crafty men would be sure to run down: and thus they avoid those evils, which appear very remarkably among all those nations that labor under a vast load of laws. Every one of them is skilled in their law; for as it is a very short study, so the plainest meaning of which words are capable is always the sense of their laws. And they argue thus; all laws are promulgated for this end, that every man may know his duty; and therefore the plainest and most obvious sense of the words is that which ought to be put upon them; since a more refined exposition cannot be easily comprehended, and would only serve to make the laws become useless to the greater part of mankind, and especially to those who need most the direction of them: for it is all one, not to make a law at all, or to couch it in such terms, that without a quick apprehension and much study, a man cannot find out the true meaning of it; since

the generality of mankind are both so dull, and so much employed in their several trades, that they have neither the leisure nor the capacity requisite for such an inquiry.

Some of their neighbours, who are masters of their own liberties, having long ago, by the assistance of the Utopians, shaken off the yoke of tyranny, and being much taken with those virtues which they observe among them, have come to desire that they would send magistrates to govern them; some changing them every year, and others every five years. At the end of their government, they bring them back to Utopia, with great expressions of honor and esteem, and carry away others to govern in their stead. In this they seem to have fallen upon a very good expedient for their own happiness and safety; for since the good or ill condition of a nation depends so much upon their magistrates, they could not have made a better choice than by pitching on men whom no advantages can bias. For wealth is of no use to them, since they must so soon go back to their own country; and they being strangers among them, are not engaged in any of their heats or animosities; and it is certain, that when public judicatories are swayed either by avarice or partial affections, there must follow a dissolution of justice; the chief sinew of society.

The Utopians call those nations that come and ask magistrates from them, neighbours ; but those to whom they have been of more particular service, friends. And as all other nations are perpetually either making leagues or breaking them, they never enter into an alliance with any state. They think leagues are useless things, and believe, that if the common ties of humanity do not knit men together, the faith of promises will have no great effect ; and they are the more confirmed in this by what they see among the nations round about them, who are no strict observers of leagues and treaties. We know how religiously they are observed in Europe, more particularly where the Christian doctrine is received, among whom they are sacred and inviolable. Which is partly owing to the justice and goodness of the princes themselves, and partly to the reverence they pay to the Popes ; who as they are most religious observers of their own promises, so they exhort all other princes to perform theirs ; and when fainter methods do not prevail, they compel them to it by the severity of the pastoral censure ; and think that it would be the most indecent thing possible, if men who are particularly distinguished by the title of "The Faithful," should not religiously keep the faith of their treaties. But in that new-found world, which is not more distant from us in situation than the

people are in their manners and course of life, there is no trusting to leagues, even though they were made with all the pomp of the most sacred ceremonies. On the contrary, they are on this account the sooner broken, some slight pretence being found in the words of the treaties, which are purposely couched in such ambiguous terms, that they can never be so strictly bound, but they will always find some loophole to escape at; and thus they break both their leagues and their faith. And this is done with such impudence, that those very men who value themselves on having suggested these expedients to their princes, would, with a haughty scorn, declaim against such craft, or, to speak plainer, such fraud and deceit, if they found private men make use of it in their bargains, and would readily say that they deserved to be hanged.

By this means it is that all sort of justice passes in the world for a lowspirited and vulgar virtue, far below the dignity of royal greatness. Or at least, there are set up two sorts of justice. The one is mean, and creeps on the ground, and therefore becomes none but the lower part of mankind, and so must be kept in severely by many restraints, that it may not break out beyond the bounds that are set to it. The other is the peculiar virtue of princes, which as it is more majestic than that which becomes the rabble, so

takes a freer compass; and thus lawful and unlawful are only measured by pleasure and interest. These practices of the princes that lie about Utopia, who make so little account of their faith, seem to be the reasons that determine them to engage in no confederacies. Perhaps they would change their mind if they lived among us. But yet, though treaties were more religiously observed, they would still dislike the custom of making them; since the world has taken up a false maxim upon it, as if there were no tie of nature uniting one nation to another, only separated perhaps by a mountain or a river, and that all were born in a state of hostility, and so might lawfully do all that mischief to their neighbours, against which there is no provision made by treaties; and that when treaties are made, they do not cut off the enmity, or restrain the license of preying upon each other, if by the unskilfulness of wording them, there are not effectual provisos made against them. They, on the other hand, judge that no man is to be esteemed our enemy that has never injured us; and that the partnership of human nature is instead of a league; and that kindness and good nature unite men more effectually and with greater strength than any agreements whatsoever; since thereby the engagements of men's hearts become stronger than the bond and obligation of words.

OF THEIR MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

They detest war as a very brutal thing, and which, to the reproach of human nature, is more practised by men than by any sort of beasts. They, in opposition to the sentiments of almost all other nations, think that there is nothing more inglorious than that glory that is gained by war ; and therefore, though they accustom themselves daily to military exercises and the discipline of war, in which not only their men, but their women, likewise, are trained up, that in cases of necessity they may not be quite useless, yet they do not rashly engage in war, unless it be either to defend themselves or their friends from any unjust aggressors, or, out of good nature or in compassion, assist an oppressed nation in shaking off the yoke of tyranny. They, indeed, help their friends not only in defensive but also in offensive wars ; but they never do that unless they had been consulted before the breach was made, and being satisfied with the grounds on which they went, they had found that all demands of reparation were rejected, so that a war was unavoidable. This they think to be not only just, when one neighbour makes an inroad on another by public order and carries away the

spoils, but when the merchants of one country are oppressed in another, either under pretence of some unjust laws, or by the perverse wresting of good ones. This they count a juster cause of war than the other, because those injuries are done under some color of laws. This was the only ground of that war in which they engaged with the Nephelogetes against the Aleopolitanes, a little before our time. For the merchants of the former having, as they thought, met with great injustice among the latter, which, whether it was in itself right or wrong, drew on a terrible war, in which many of their neighbours were engaged; and their keenness in carrying it on being supported by their strength in maintaining it, it not only shook some very flourishing states, and very much afflicted others, but, after a series of much mischief, ended in the entire conquest and slavery of the Aleopolitanes, who, though before the war they were in all respects much superior to the Nephelogetes, were yet subdued. But though the Utopians had assisted them in the war, yet they pretended to no share of the spoil.

But though they so vigorously assist their friends in obtaining reparation for the injuries they have received in affairs of this nature, yet if any such frauds were committed against themselves, provided no violence was done to their persons, they

would only, on their being refused satisfaction, forbear trading with such a people. This is not because they consider their neighbours more than their own citizens; but since their neighbours trade every one upon his own stock, fraud is a more sensible injury to them than it is to the Utopians, among whom the public in such a case only suffers. As they expect nothing in return for the merchandise they export, but that in which they so much abound, and is of little use to them, the loss does not much affect them. They think, therefore, it would be too severe to revenge a loss attended with so little inconvenience to their lives or their subsistence, with the death of many persons. But if any of their people is either killed or wounded wrongfully, whether it be done by public authority, or only by private men, as soon as they hear of it, they send ambassadors, and demand that the guilty persons may be delivered up to them; and if that is denied, they declare war; but if it be complied with, the offenders are condemned either to death or slavery.

They would be both troubled and ashamed of a bloody victory over their enemies; and think it would be as foolish a purchase, as to buy the most valuable goods at too high a rate. And in no victory do they glory so much, as in that which is gained by dexterity and good conduct,

without bloodshed. In such cases they appoint public triumphs, and erect trophies to the honor of those who have succeeded; for then do they reckon that a man acts suitably to his nature, when he conquers his enemy in such a way, as that no other creature but a man could be capable of, and that is, by the strength of his understanding. Bears, lions, boars, wolves, and dogs, and all other animals, employ their bodily force one against another, in which as many of them are superior to men, both in strength and fierceness, so they are all subdued by his reason and understanding.

The only design of the Utopians in war, is to obtain that by force, which if it had been granted them in time, would have prevented the war; or if that cannot be done, to take so severe a revenge on those that have injured them, that they may be terrified from doing the like for the time to come. By these ends they measure all their designs, and manage them so, that it is visible that the appetite of fame or vain glory, does not work so much on them, as a just care of their own security.

As soon as they declare war, they take care to have a great many schedules, that are sealed with their common seal, affixed in the most conspicuous places of their enemies' country. This is carried secretly, and done in many places all

at once. In these they promise great rewards to such as shall kill the prince, and lesser in proportion to such as shall kill any other persons, who are those on whom, next to the prince himself, they cast the chief blame of the war. And they double the sum to him, that instead of killing the person so marked out, shall take him alive, and put him in their hands. They offer not only indemnity, but rewards, to such of the persons themselves that are so marked, if they will act against their countrymen. By this means those that are named in their schedules become not only distrustful of their fellow citizens, but are jealous of one another, and are much distracted by fear and danger; for it has often fallen out, that many of them, and even the prince himself, have been betrayed by those in whom they have trusted most; for the rewards that the Utopians offer are so unmeasurably great, that there is no sort of crime to which men cannot be drawn by them. They consider the risk that those run who undertake such services, and offer a recompense proportioned to the danger; not only a vast deal of gold, but great revenues in lands, that lie among other nations that are their friends, where they may go and enjoy them very securely; and they observe the promises they make of this kind most religiously. They very much approve of this way of corrupting their

enemies, though it appears to others to be base and cruel ; but they look on it as a wise course, to make an end of what would be otherwise a long war, without so much as hazarding one battle to decide it. They think it likewise an act of mercy and love to mankind, to prevent the great slaughter of those that must otherwise be killed in the progress of the war, both on their own side, and on that of their enemies, by the death of a few that are most guilty ; and that in so doing they are kind even to their enemies, and pity them no less than their own people, as knowing that the greater part of them do not engage in the war of their own accord, but are driven into it by the passions of their prince.

If this method does not succeed with them, then they sow seeds of contention among their enemies, and animate the prince's brother, or some of the nobility, to aspire to the crown. If they cannot disunite them by domestic broils, then they engage their neighbours against them, and make them set on foot some old pretensions, which are never wanting to princes, when they have occasion for them. These they plentifully supply with money, though but very sparingly with any auxiliary troops ; for they are so tender of their own people, that they would not willingly exchange one of them even with the prince of their enemies' country.

But as they keep their gold and silver only for such an occasion, so when that offers itself, they easily part with it, since it would be no inconvenience to them, though they should reserve nothing of it to themselves. For besides the wealth that they have among them at home, they have a vast treasure abroad, many nations round about them being deep in their debt; so that they hire soldiers from all places for carrying on their wars, but chiefly from the Zapolets, who live five hundred miles east of Utopia. They are a rude, wild, and fierce nation, who delight in the woods and rocks, among which they were born and bred up. They are hardened both against heat, cold, and labor, and know nothing of the delicacies of life. They do not apply themselves to agriculture, nor do they care either for their houses or their clothes. Cattle is all that they look after; and, for the greatest part, they live either by hunting or upon rapine; and are made, as it were, only for war. They watch all opportunities of engaging in it, and very readily embrace such as are offered them. Great numbers of them will frequently go out, and offer themselves, for a very low pay, to serve any that will employ them. They know none of the arts of life, but those that lead to the taking it away. They serve those that hire them, both with much courage and great fidelity; but will not engage to

serve for any determined time, and agree upon such terms, that the next day they may go over to the enemies of those whom they serve, if they offer them a greater encouragement; and will perhaps return to them the day after that, upon a higher advance of their pay. There are few wars in which they make not a considerable part of the armies of both sides. So it often falls out, that they who are related, and were hired in the same country, and so have lived long and familiarly together, forgetting both their relations and former friendship, kill one another upon no other consideration than that of being hired to it, for a little money, by princes of different interests; and such a regard have they for money, that they are easily wrought on by the difference of one penny a day, to change sides. So entirely does their avarice influence them; and yet this money, which they value so highly, is of little use to them; for what they purchase thus with their blood, they quickly waste on luxury, which among them is but of a poor and miserable form.

This nation serves the Utopians against all people whatsoever, for they pay higher than any other. The Utopians hold this for a maxim, that as they seek out the best sort of men for their own use at home, so they make use of this worst sort of men for the consumption of war;

and therefore they hire them with the offers of vast rewards, to expose themselves to all sorts of hazards, out of which the greater part never returns to claim their promises. Yet they make them good most religiously to such as escape. This animates them to adventure again, whenever there is occasion for it ; for the Utopians are not at all troubled how many of these happen to be killed ; and reckon it a service done to mankind, if they could be a means to deliver the world from such a lewd and vicious sort of people, that seem to have run together, as to the drain of human nature. Next to these, they are served in their wars with those upon whose account they undertake them, and with the auxiliary troops of their other friends, to whom they join a few of their own people, and send some man of eminent and approved virtue to command in chief. There are two sent with him, who, during his command, are but private men, but the first is to succeed him if he should happen to be either killed or taken ; and in case of the like misfortune to him, the third comes in his place ; and thus they provide against ill events, that such accidents as may befall their generals, may not endanger their armies.

When they draw out troops of their own people, they take such out of every city as freely offer themselves ; for none are forced to go

against their wills, since they think that if any man is pressed that wants courage, he will not only act faintly, but by his cowardice dishearten others. But if an invasion is made on their country, they make use of such men, if they have good bodies, though they are not brave; and either put them aboard their ships, or place them on the walls of their towns, that being so posted, they may find no opportunity of flying away; and thus either shame, the heat of action, or the impossibility of flying, bears down their cowardice. They often make a virtue of necessity, and behave themselves well, because nothing else is left them.

But as they force no man to go into any foreign war against his will, so they do not hinder those women who are willing to go along with their husbands; on the contrary, they encourage and praise them, and they stand often next their husbands in the front of the army. They also place together those who are related, parents and children, kindred, and those that are mutually allied, near one another; that those whom nature has inspired with the greatest zeal for assisting one another, may be the nearest and readiest to do it; and it is matter of great reproach, if husband or wife survive one another, or if a child survives his parent; and therefore when they come to be engaged in action, they continue to

fight to the last man, if their enemies stand before them. And as they use all prudent methods to avoid the endangering their own men, and if it is possible, let all the action and danger fall upon the troops that they hire, so if it becomes necessary for themselves to engage, they then charge with as much courage, as they avoided it before with prudence. Nor is it a fierce charge at first, but it increases by degrees; and as they continue in action, they grow more obstinate, and press harder upon the enemy, in-somuch that they will much sooner die than give ground; for the certainty that their children will be well looked after, when they are dead, frees them from all that anxiety concerning them, which often masters men of great courage; and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible resolution.

Their skill in military affairs increases their courage; and the wise sentiments which, according to the laws of their country, are instilled into them in their education, give additional vigor to their minds; for as they do not undervalue life so as prodigally to throw it away, they are not so indecently fond of it, as to preserve it by base and unbecoming methods. In the greatest heat of action the bravest of their youth, who have devoted themselves to that service, single out the general of their enemies, set on him

either openly or by ambuscade, pursue him every where, and when spent and wearied out, are relieved by others, who never give over the pursuit, either attacking him with close weapons when they can get near him, or with those which wound at a distance, when others get in between them; so that unless he secures himself by flight, they seldom fail at last to kill or to take him prisoner.

When they have obtained a victory, they kill as few as possible, and are much more bent on taking many prisoners, than on killing those that fly before them. Nor do they ever let their men so loose in the pursuit of their enemies, as not to retain an entire body still in order; so that if they have been forced to engage the last of their battalions, before they could gain the day, they will rather let their enemies all escape than pursue them, when their own army is in disorder; remembering well what has often fallen out to themselves; that when the main body of their army has been quite defeated and broken, when their enemies, imagining the victory obtained, have let themselves loose into an irregular pursuit, a few of them that lay for a reserve, waiting a fit opportunity, have fallen on them in their chase, and when straggling in disorder, and apprehensive of no danger, but counting the day their own, have turned the whole action, and

wresting out of their hands a victory that seemed certain and undoubted, the vanquished have suddenly become victorious.

It is hard to tell whether they are more dexterous in laying or avoiding ambushes. They sometimes seem to fly when it is far from their thoughts; and when they intend to give ground, they do it so, that it is very hard to find out their design. If they see they are ill posted, or are like to be overpowered by numbers, they then either march off in the night with great silence, or by some stratagem delude their enemies. If they retire in the daytime, they do it in such order, that it is no less dangerous to fall upon them in a retreat than in a march. They fortify their camps with a deep and large trench, and throw up the earth that is dug out of it for a wall; nor do they employ only their slaves in this, but the whole army works at it, except those that are then upon the guard; so that when so many hands are at work, a great line and a strong fortification is finished in so short a time, that it is scarce credible. Their armour is very strong for defence, and yet it is not so heavy as to make them uneasy in their marches; they can even swim with it. All that are trained up to war, practise swimming. Both horse and foot make great use of arrows, and are very expert. They have no swords, but fight with a poleaxe

that is both sharp and heavy, by which they thrust or strike down an enemy. They are very good at finding out warlike machines, and disguise them so well, that the enemy does not perceive them, till he feels the use of them ; so that he cannot prepare such a defence as would render them useless. The chief consideration had in the making them, is, that they may be easily carried and managed.

If they agree to a truce, they observe it so religiously, that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their enemies' country waste, nor burn their corn, and even in their marches they take all possible care that neither horse nor foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have use for it themselves. They hurt no man whom they find disarmed, unless he is a spy. When a town is surrendered to them, they take it into their protection ; and when they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it, but put those only to the sword that opposed the rendering of it up, and make the rest of the garrison slaves, but for the other inhabitants, they do them no hurt ; and if any of them had advised a surrender, they give them good rewards out of the estates of those that they condemn, and distribute the rest among their auxiliary troops, but they themselves take no share of the spoil.

When a war is ended, they do not oblige their friends to reimburse their expenses, but they obtain them of the conquered, either in money, which they keep for the next occasion, or in lands, out of which a constant revenue is to be paid them. By many increases, the revenue which they draw out from several countries on such occasions, is now risen to above seven hundred thousand ducats a year. They send some of their own people to receive these revenues, who have orders to live magnificently, and like princes, by which means they consume much of it upon the place ; and either bring over the rest to Utopia, or lend it to that nation in which it lies. This they most commonly do, unless some great occasion, which falls out but very seldom, should oblige them to call for it all. It is out of these lands that they assign rewards to such as they encourage to adventure on desperate attempts. If any prince that engages in war with them, is making preparations for invading their country, they prevent him, and make his country the seat of the war ; for they do not willingly suffer any war to break in upon their island ; and if that should happen, they would only defend themselves by their own people, but would not call for auxiliary troops to their assistance.

OF THEIR RELIGION.

There are several sorts of religions, not only in different parts of the island, but even in every town; some worshipping the sun, others the moon, or one of the planets. Some worship such men as have been eminent in former times for virtue or glory, not only as ordinary deities, but as the Supreme God. Yet the greater and wiser sort of them worship none of these, but adore one eternal, invisible, infinite, and incomprehensible Deity; as a Being that is far above all our apprehensions, that is spread over the whole universe, not by his bulk, but by his power and virtue. Him they call the Father of all, and acknowledge that the beginnings, the increase, the progress, the vicissitudes, and the end of all things come only from him; nor do they offer divine honors to any but to him alone. And indeed, though they differ concerning other things, yet all agree in this; that they think there is one Supreme Being that made and governs the world, whom they call, in the language of their country, Mithras. They differ in this, that one thinks the god whom he worships is this Supreme Being, and another thinks that his idol is that God; but they all agree in one principle,

that whoever is this Supreme Being, he is also that Great Essence, to whose glory and majesty all honors are ascribed by the consent of all nations.

By degrees, they fall off from the various superstitions that are among them, and grow up to that one religion that is the best and most in request; and there is no doubt to be made, but that all the others had vanished long ago, if some of those who advised them to lay aside their superstitions, had not met with some unhappy accidents, which being considered as inflicted by Heaven, made them afraid that the god whose worship had like to have been abandoned, had interposed, and revenged himself on those who despised his authority.

After they had heard from us an account of the doctrine, the course of life, and the miracles of Christ, and of the wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood, so willingly offered up by them, was the chief occasion of spreading their religion over a vast number of nations, it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I shall not determine whether this proceeded from any secret inspiration of God, or whether it was because it seemed so favorable to that community of goods, which is an opinion so particular as well as so dear to them; since they perceived that Christ and his followers lived by

that rule, and that it was still kept up in some communities among the sincerest sort of Christians. From whichever of these motives it might be, true it is that many of them came over to our religion, and were initiated into it by baptism. But as two of our number were dead, so none of the four that survived, were in priest's orders; we therefore could only baptize them; so that, to our great regret, they could not partake of the other sacraments, that can only be administered by priests. But they are instructed concerning them, and long most vehemently for them. They have had great disputes among themselves, whether one chosen by them to be a priest, would not be thereby qualified to do all the things that belong to that character, even though he had no authority derived from the Pope; and they seemed to be resolved to choose some for that employment, but they had not done it when I left them.

Those among them that have not received our religion, do not fright any from it, and use none ill that goes over to it; so that all the while I was there, one man was only punished, on this occasion. He being newly baptized, did, notwithstanding all that we could say to the contrary, dispute publicly concerning the Christian religion, with more zeal than discretion; and with so much heat, that he not only preferred our

worship to theirs, but condemned all their rites as profane; and cried out against all that adhered to them, as impious and sacrilegious persons, that were to be damned to everlasting burnings. Upon his having frequently preached in this manner, he was seized, and after trial, he was condemned to banishment, not for having disparaged their religion, but for his inflaming the people to sedition; for this is one of their most ancient laws, that no man ought to be punished for his religion. At the first constitution of their government, Utopus having understood, that before his coming among them, the old inhabitants had been engaged in great quarrels concerning religion, by which they were so divided among themselves, that he found it an easy thing to conquer them, since instead of uniting their forces against him, every different party in religion fought by themselves; after he had subdued them, he made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other opinions; but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion, and was neither to mix with it reproaches nor violence; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

This law was made by Utopus, not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it not fit to determine any thing rashly, and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all come from God, who might inspire men in a different manner, and be pleased with this variety; he therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another to make him believe what did not appear to him to be true. And supposing that only one religion was really true, and the rest false, he imagined that the native force of truth would at last break forth and shine bright, if supported only by the strength of argument, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind; while, on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumults, as the most wicked are always the most obstinate, so the best and most holy religion might be choked with superstition, as corn is with briers and thorns. He therefore left men wholly to their liberty, that they might be free to believe as they should see cause; only he made a solemn and severe law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature, as to think that our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed

by chance, without a wise overruling Providence. For they all formerly believed that there was a state of rewards and punishments to the good and bad after this life ; and they now look on those that think otherwise, as scarce fit to be counted men, since they degrade so noble a being as the soul, and reckon it no better than a beast's. Thus they are far from looking on such men as fit for human society, or to be citizens of a well-ordered commonwealth ; since a man of such principles must needs, as oft as he dares do it, despise all their laws and customs ; for there is no doubt to be made, that a man who is afraid of nothing but the law, and apprehends nothing after death, will not scruple to break through all the laws of his country, either by fraud or force, when by this means he may satisfy his appetites. They never raise any that hold these maxims, either to honors or offices, nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them, as men of base and sordid minds. Yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down as a maxim, that a man cannot make himself believe any thing he pleases ; nor do they drive any to dissemble their thoughts by threatenings, so that men are not tempted to lie or disguise their opinions ; which being a sort of fraud, is, abhorred by the Utopians. They take care indeed to prevent their disputing in defence of these opinions,

especially before the common people ; but they suffer, and even encourage them to dispute concerning them in private with their priests, and other grave men, being confident that they will be cured of those mad opinions, by having reason laid before them. There are many among them that run far to the other extreme, though it is neither thought an ill nor unreasonable opinion, and therefore is not at all discouraged ; they think that the souls of beasts are immortal, though far inferior to the dignity of the human soul, and not capable of so great a happiness.

They are almost all of them very firmly persuaded, that good men will be infinitely happy in another state ; so that though they are compassionate to all that are sick, yet they lament no man's death, except they see him loath to part with life ; for they look on this as a very ill presage, as if the soul, conscious to itself of guilt, and quite hopeless, was afraid to leave the body, from some secret hints of approaching misery. They think that such a man's appearance before God cannot be acceptable to him, who being called on, does not go out cheerfully, but is backward and unwilling, and is, as it were, dragged to it. They are struck with horror, when they see any die in this manner, and carry them out in silence, and with sorrow, and praying God that

he would be merciful to the errors of the departed soul, they lay the body in the ground. But when any die cheerfully, and full of hope, they do not mourn for them, but sing hymns when they carry out their bodies, and commending their souls very earnestly to God, their whole behaviour is then rather grave than sad ; they burn the body, and set up a pillar where the pile was made, with an inscription to the honor of the deceased. When they come from the funeral, they discourse of his good life and worthy actions, but speak of nothing oftener and with more pleasure, than of his serenity at the hour of death. They think such respect paid to the memory of good men, is both the greatest incitement to engage others to follow their example, and the most acceptable worship that can be offered them ; for they believe that though, by the imperfection of human sight, they are invisible to us, yet they are present among us, and hear those discourses that pass concerning themselves. They believe it inconsistent with the happiness of departed souls, not to be at liberty to be where they will ; and do not imagine them capable of the ingratitude of not desiring to see those friends, with whom they lived on earth in the strictest bonds of love and kindness. Besides, they are persuaded that good men, after death, have these affections and all other good disposi-

tions, increased rather than diminished, and therefore conclude that they are still among the living, and observe all they say or do. From hence they engage in all their affairs with the greater confidence of success, as trusting to their protection; while this opinion of the presence of their ancestors is a restraint that prevents their engaging in ill designs.

They despise and laugh at auguries, and the other vain and superstitious ways of divination, so much observed among other nations; but have great reverence for such miracles as cannot flow from any of the powers of nature, and look on them as effects and indications of the presence of the Supreme Being, of which they say many instances have occurred among them; and that sometimes their public prayers, which upon great and dangerous occasions they have solemnly put up to God, with assured confidence of being heard, have been answered in a miraculous manner.

They think the contemplating God in his works, and the adoring him for them, is a very acceptable piece of worship to him.

There are many among them, that upon a motive of religion, neglect learning, and apply themselves to no sort of study; nor do they allow themselves any leisure time, but are perpetually employed, believing that by the good things

that a man does he secures to himself that happiness that comes after death. Some of these visit the sick ; others mend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, or dig turf, gravel, or stones ; others fell and cleave timber, and bring wood, corn, and other necessities, on carts into their towns. Nor do these only serve the public, but they serve even private men, more than the slaves themselves do. For if there is any where a rough, hard, and sordid piece of work to be done, from which many are frightened by the labor and loathsomeness of it, if not the despair of accomplishing it, they cheerfully, and of their own accord, take that to their share ; and by that means, as they ease others very much, so they afflict themselves, and spend their whole life in hard labor. And yet they do not value themselves upon this, nor lessen other people's credit, to raise their own ; but by their stooping to such servile employments, they are so far from being despised, that they are so much the more esteemed by the whole nation.

Of these there are two sorts. Some live unmarried and chaste, and abstain from eating any sort of flesh ; and thus weaning themselves from all the pleasures of the present life, which they account hurtful, they pursue, even by the hardest and painfullest methods possible, that blessedness which they hope for hereafter ; and the

nearer they approach to it, they are the more cheerful and earnest in their endeavours after it. Another sort of them is less willing to put themselves to much toil, and therefore prefer a married state to a single one; and as they do not deny themselves the pleasure of it, so they think the begetting of children is a debt which they owe to human nature, and to their country. Nor do they avoid any pleasure that does not hinder labor; and therefore eat flesh so much the more willingly, as they find that by this means they are the more able to work. The Utopians look upon these as the wiser sect, but they esteem the others as the most holy. They would indeed laugh at any man, who, from the principles of reason, would prefer an unmarried state to a married, or a life of labor to an easy life; but they reverence and admire such as do it from the motives of religion. There is nothing in which they are more cautious, than in giving their opinion positively concerning any sort of religion. The men that lead those severe lives, are called in the language of their country Brutheskas, which answers to those we call religious orders.

Their priests are men of eminent piety, and therefore they are but few, for there are only thirteen in every town, one for every temple. But when they go to war, seven of these go out

with their forces, and seven others are chosen to supply their room in their absence. But these enter again upon their employment when they return; and those who served in their absence, attend upon the high-priest, till vacancies fall by death; for there is one set over all the rest. They are chosen by the people, as the other magistrates are, by suffrages given in secret, for preventing of factions; and when they are chosen, they are consecrated by the college of priests. The care of all sacred things, the worship of God, and an inspection into the manners of the people, are committed to them. It is a reproach to a man to be sent for by any of them, or for them to speak to him in secret, for that always gives some suspicion. All that is incumbent on them, is only to exhort and admonish the people; for the power of correcting and punishing ill men, belongs wholly to the prince, and to the other magistrates. The severest thing that the priest does, is the excluding those that are desperately wicked from joining in their worship. There is not any sort of punishment more dreaded by them than this, for as it loads them with infamy, so it fills them with secret horrors, such is their reverence to their religion. Nor will their bodies be long exempted from their share of trouble; for if they do not very quickly satisfy the priests of the truth of their re-

penance, they are seized on by the senate, and punished for their impiety. The education of youth belongs to the priests; yet they do not take so much care of instructing them in letters, as in forming their minds and manners aright. They use all possible methods to infuse very early into the tender and flexible minds of children, such opinions as are both good in themselves and will be useful to their country; for when deep impressions of these things are made at that age, they follow men through the whole course of their lives, and conduce much to preserve the peace of the government, which suffers by nothing more than by vices that rise out of ill opinions. The wives of their priests are the most extraordinary women of the whole country; sometimes the women themselves are made priests, though that falls out but seldom, nor are any but ancient widows chosen into that order.

None of the magistrates have greater honor paid them than is paid the priests; and if they should happen to commit any crime, they would not be questioned for it. Their punishment is left to God, and to their own consciences; for they do not think it lawful to lay hands on any man, how wicked soever he is, that has been in a peculiar manner dedicated to God. Nor do they find any great inconvenience in this, both

because they have so few priests, and because these are chosen with much caution ; so that it must be a very unusual thing to find one, who, merely out of regard to his virtue, and for his being esteemed a singularly good man, was raised up to so great a dignity, degenerate into corruption and vice. And if such a thing should fall out, (for man is a changeable creature,) yet there being few priests, and these having no authority but what rises out of the respect that is paid them, nothing of great consequence to the public can proceed from the indemnity that the priests enjoy.

They have indeed very few of them, lest greater numbers sharing in the same honor, might make the dignity of that order, which they esteem so highly, to sink in its reputation. They also think it difficult to find out many of such an exalted pitch of goodness, as to be equal to that dignity which demands the exercise of more than ordinary virtues. Nor are the priests in greater veneration among them, than they are among their neighbouring nations ; as you may imagine by that which I think gives occasion for it.

When the Utopians engage in battle, the priests, who accompany them to the war, appalled in their sacred vestments, kneel down during the action, in a place not far from the

field, and lifting up their hands to heaven, pray, first for peace, and then for victory to their own side, and particularly that it may be gained without the effusion of much blood on either side; and when the victory turns to their side, they run in among their own men to restrain their fury; and if any of their enemies see them, or call to them, they are preserved by that means; and such as can come so near them as to touch their garments, have not only their lives, but their fortunes secured to them. It is upon this account that all the nations round about consider them so much, and treat them with such reverence, that they have been often no less able to preserve their own people from the fury of their enemies, than to save their enemies from their rage. For it has sometimes fallen out, that when their armies have been in disorder, and forced to fly, so that their enemies were running upon the slaughter and spoil, the priests, by interposing, have separated them from one another, and stopped the effusion of more blood; so that, by their mediation, a peace has been concluded on very reasonable terms. Nor is there any nation about them so fierce, cruel, or barbarous, as not to look upon their persons as sacred and inviolable.

The first and the last day of the month, and of the year, is a festival. They measure their months by the course of the moon, and their

years by the course of the sun. The first days are called in their language the Cynemernes, and the last the Trapemernes; which answers in our language to the festival that begins or ends the season.

They have magnificent temples, that are not only nobly built, but extremely spacious; which is the more necessary, as they have so few of them. They are a little dark within, which proceeds not from any error in the architecture, but is done with design; for their priests think that too much light dissipates the thoughts, and that a more moderate degree of it both recollects the mind and raises devotion. Though there are many different forms of religion among them, yet all these, how various soever, agree in the main point, which is the worshipping the Divine Essence; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their temples in which the several persuasions among them may not agree; for every sect performs those rites that are peculiar to it in their private houses, nor is there any thing in the public worship that contradicts the particular ways of those different sects. There are no images for God in their temples, so that every one may represent him to his thoughts according to the way of his religion; nor do they call this one God by any other name but that of Mithras, which is the common name by which

they all express the Divine Essence, whatsoever otherwise they think it to be; nor are there any prayers among them but such as every one of them may use without prejudice to his own opinion.

They meet in their temples on the evening of the festival that concludes a season, and not having yet broke their fast, they thank God for their good success during that year or month, which is then at an end; and the next day, being that which begins the new season, they meet early in their temples, to pray for the happy progress of all their affairs during that period upon which they then enter. In the festival which concludes the period, before they go to the temple, both wives and children fall on their knees before their husbands or parents, and confess every thing in which they have either erred or failed in their duty, and beg pardon for it. Thus all little discontents in families are removed, that they may offer up their devotions with a pure and serene mind; for they hold it a great impiety to enter upon them with disturbed thoughts, or with a consciousness of their bearing hatred or anger in their hearts to any person whatsoever; and think they should become liable to severe punishments, if they presumed to offer sacrifices without cleansing their hearts, and reconciling all their differences. In the temples the two sexes are separa-

ted, the men go to the right hand, and the women to the left; and the males and females all place themselves before the head, and master or mistress of that family to which they belong, so that those who have the government of them at home may see their deportment in public; and they intermingle them so, that the younger and the older may be set by one another; for if the younger sort were all set together, they would perhaps trifle away that time too much, in which they ought to beget in themselves that religious dread of the Supreme Being, which is the greatest, and almost the only incitement to virtue.

They offer up no living creature in sacrifice, nor do they think it suitable to the Divine Being, from whose bounty it is that these creatures have derived their lives, to take pleasure in their deaths, or the offering up their blood. They burn incense, and other sweet odors, and have a great number of wax lights during their worship; not out of any imagination that such oblations can add any thing to the Divine Nature, which even prayers cannot do; but as it is a harmless and pure way of worshipping God, so they think those sweet savors and lights, together with some other ceremonies, by a secret and unaccountable virtue, elevate men's souls, and inflame them with greater energy and cheerfulness during the divine worship.

All the people appear in the temples in white garments; but the priests' vestments are parti-colored; and both the work and colors are wonderful. They are made of no rich materials, for they are neither embroidered, nor set with precious stones, but are composed of the plumes of several birds, laid together with so much art, and so neatly, that the true value of them is far beyond the costliest materials. They say, that in the ordering and placing those plumes, some dark mysteries are represented, which pass down among their priests in a secret tradition concerning them; and that they are as hieroglyphics, putting them in mind of the blessings that they have received from God, and of their duties both to him and to their neighbours. As soon as the priest appears in those ornaments, they all fall prostrate on the ground, with so much reverence and so deep a silence, that such as look on cannot but be struck with it, as if it were the effect of the appearance of a deity. After they have been for some time in this posture, they all stand up, upon a sign given by the priest, and sing hymns to the honor of God, some musical instruments playing all the while. These are quite of another form than those used among us; but, as many of them are much sweeter than ours, so others are not to be compared to those that we have. Yet in one thing they very much exceed us; all

their music, both vocal and instrumental, is adapted to imitate and express the passions ; and is so happily suited to every occasion, that whether the subject of the hymn be cheerful, or formed to sooth or trouble the mind, or to express grief or remorse, the music takes the impression of whatever is represented, affects and kindles the passions, and works the sentiments deep into the hearts of the hearers. When this is done, both priests and people offer up very solemn prayers to God in a set form of words ; and these are so composed, that whatsoever is pronounced by the whole assembly, may be likewise applied by every man in particular to his own condition. In these they acknowledge God to be the author and governor of the world, and the fountain of all the good they receive ; and therefore offer up to him their thanksgiving ; and, in particular, bless him for his goodness in ordering it so, that they are born under the happiest government in the world, and are of a religion which they hope is the truest of all others : but if they are mistaken, and if there is either a better government, or a religion more acceptable to God, they implore his goodness to let them know it, vowing that they resolve to follow him whithersoever he leads them : but if their government is the best, and their religion the truest, then they pray that he may fortify them in it, and bring all the world

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both to the same rules of life, and to the same opinions concerning himself; unless, according to the unsearchableness of his mind, he is pleased with a variety of religions. Then they pray that God may give them an easy passage at last to himself, not presuming to set limits to him, how early or late it should be; but if it may be wished for, without derogating from his supreme authority, they desire to be quickly delivered, and to be taken to himself, though by the most terrible kind of death, rather than to be detained long from seeing him, by the most prosperous course of life. When this prayer is ended, they all fall down again upon the ground, and after a little while they rise up, go home to dinner, and spend the rest of the day in diversion or military exercises.

CONCLUSION.

Thus have I described to you, as particularly as I could, the constitution of that commonwealth, which I do not only think the best in the world, but indeed the only commonwealth that truly deserves that name. In all other places it is visible, that while people talk of a commonwealth,

every man only seeks his own wealth ; but there, where no man has any property, all men zealously pursue the good of the public. And indeed it is no wonder to see men act so differently ; for in other commonwealths, every man knows that unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the commonwealth may be, he must die of hunger ; so that he sees the necessity of preferring his own concerns to the public. But in Utopia, where every man has a right to every thing, they all know that if care is taken to keep the public stores full, no private man can want any thing. For among them there is no unequal distribution, so that no man is poor, none in necessity ; and though no man has any thing, yet they are all rich ; for what can make a man so rich, as to lead a serene and cheerful life, free from anxieties, neither apprehending want himself, nor vexed with the endless complaints of his wife ? He is not afraid of the misery of his children, nor is he contriving how to raise a portion for his daughters ; but is secure in this, that both he and his wife, his children and grandchildren, to as many generations as he can fancy, will all live both plentifully and happily ; since among them there is no less care taken of those who were once engaged in labor, but grow afterwards unable to follow it, than there is elsewhere of these that continue still employed.

I would gladly hear any man compare the justice that is among them with that of all other nations ; among whom, may I perish, if I see any thing that looks either like justice or equity. For what justice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendor upon what is so ill acquired, and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labors so necessary that no commonwealth could hold out a year without them, can only earn so poor a livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is much better than theirs ? For as the beasts do not work so constantly, so they feed almost as well, and with more pleasure, and have no anxiety about what is to come ; whilst these men are depressed by a barren and fruitless employment, and tormented with the apprehensions of want in their old age ; since that which they get by their daily labor does but maintain them at present, and is consumed as fast as it comes in, so that there is no overplus left to lay up for old age.

Is not that government both unjust and ungrateful, that is so prodigal of its favors to those that are called gentlemen, or goldsmiths, or such others

who are idle, or live either by flattery or by contriving the arts of vain pleasure ; and, on the other hand, takes no care of those of a meaner sort, such as ploughmen, colliers, and smiths, without whom it could not subsist ? But after the public has reaped all the advantage of their service, and they come to be oppressed with age, sickness, and want, all their labors, and the good they have done, is forgotten ; and all the recompense given them is, that they are left to die in great misery. The richer sort are often endeavouring to bring the hire of laborers lower, not only by their fraudulent practices, but by the laws which they procure to be made to that effect ; so that though it is a thing most unjust in itself to give such small rewards to those who deserve so well of the public, yet they have given those hardships the name and color of justice, by procuring laws to be made for regulating them.

Therefore I must say, that, as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the other governments that I see or know, than that they are a conspiracy of the rich, who, on pretence of managing the public, only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and arts they can find out, first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then, that they may engage the poor to toil and labor for them at as low rates as possible, and

oppress them as much as they please. And if they can but prevail to get these contrivances established by the show of public authority, which is considered as the representative of the whole people, then they are accounted laws. Yet these wicked men, after they have, by a most insatiable covetousness, divided that among themselves with which all the rest might have been well supplied, are far from that happiness that is enjoyed among the Utopians; for the use as well as the desire of money being extinguished, much anxiety, and great occasions of mischief, is cut off with it. And who does not see that the frauds, thefts, robberies, quarrels, tumults, contentions, seditions, murders, treacheries, and witchcrafts, which are indeed rather punished than restrained by the severities of law, would all fall off, if money were not any more valued by the world? Men's fears, solitudes, cares, labors, and watchings, would all perish in the same moment with the value of money. Even poverty itself, for the relief of which money seems most necessary, would fall. But, in order to the apprehending this aright, take one instance:

Consider any year that has been so unfruitful that many thousands have died of hunger; and yet, if at the end of that year a survey was made of the granaries of all the rich men that have hoarded up the corn, it would be found that there

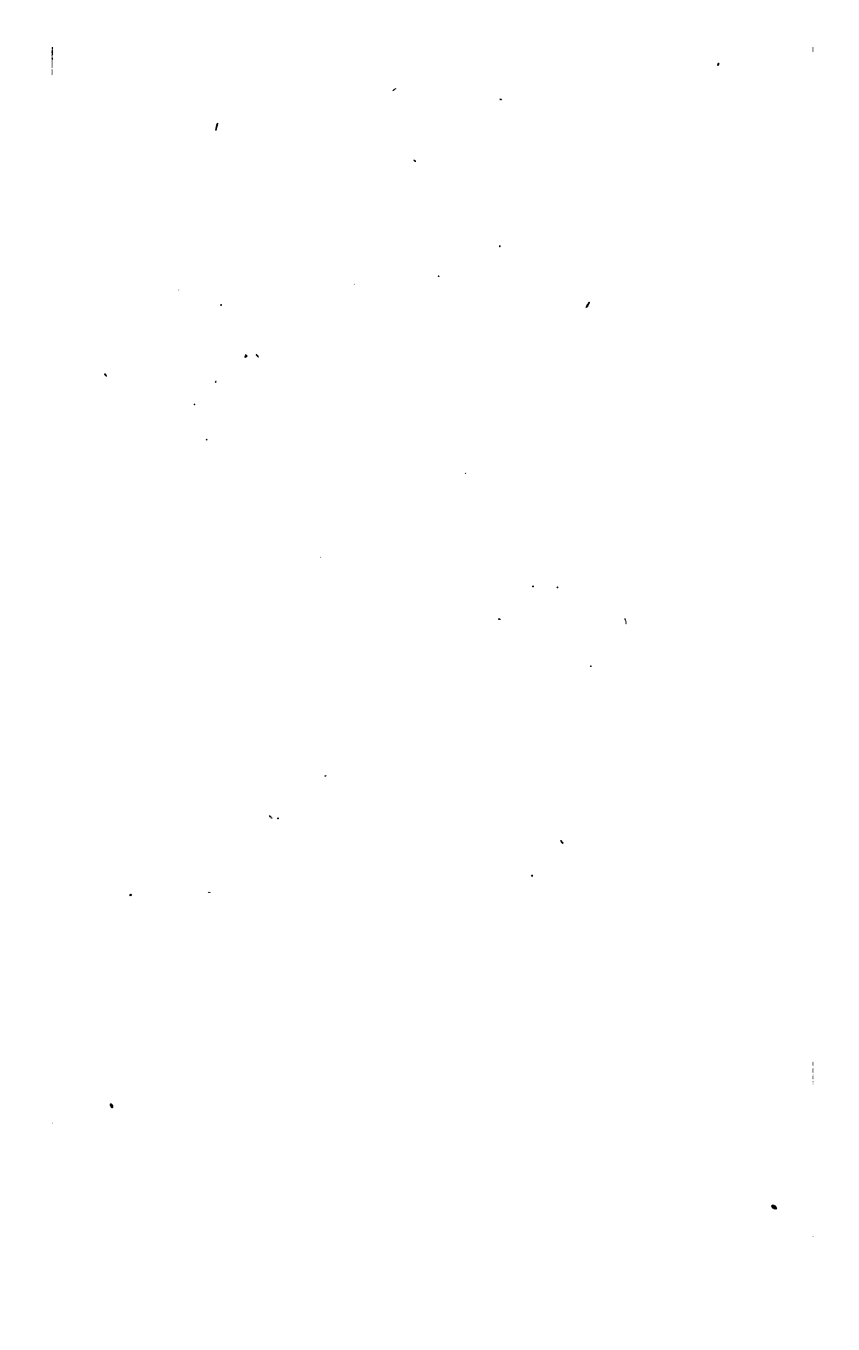
was enough among them to have prevented all that consumption of men that perished in misery ; and that, if it had been distributed among them, none would have felt the terrible effects of that scarcity. So easy a thing would it be to supply all the necessities of life, if that blessed thing, called money, which is pretended to be invented for procuring them, was not really the only thing that obstructed their being procured !

I do not doubt but rich men are sensible of this, and that they well know how much a greater happiness it is to want nothing necessary, than to abound in many superfluities, and to be rescued out of so much misery, than to abound with so much wealth. And I cannot think but the sense of every man's interest, added to the authority of Christ's commands, who, as he was infinitely wise, knew what was best, and was not less good in discovering it to us, would have drawn all the world over to the laws of the Utopians, if pride, that plague of human nature, that source of so much misery, did not hinder it. For this vice does not measure happiness so much by its own conveniencies, as by the miseries of others ; and would not be satisfied with being thought a goddess, if none were left that were miserable, over whom she might insult. Pride thinks its own happiness shines the brighter, by comparing it with the misfortunes of other persons ;, that by

displaying its own wealth, they may feel their poverty the more sensibly. This is that infernal serpent that creeps into the breasts of mortals, and possesses them too much to be easily drawn out; and therefore I am glad that the Utopians have fallen upon this form of government, in which I wish that all the world could be so wise as to imitate them. For they have indeed laid down such a scheme and foundation of policy, that as men live happily under it, so it is like to be of great continuance; for they having rooted out of the minds of their people all the seeds both of ambition and faction, there is no danger of any commotions at home, which alone has been the ruin of many states, that seemed otherwise to be well secured. But as long as they live in peace at home, and are governed by such good laws, the envy of all their neighbouring princes, who have often, though in vain, attempted their ruin, will never be able to put their state into any commotion or disorder.

When Raphael had thus made an end of speaking, though many things occurred to me, both concerning the manners and laws of that people, that seemed very absurd, as well in their way of making war, as in their notions of religion and divine matters; together with several other particulars; but chiefly what seemed the foundation

of all the rest, their living in common, without the use of money, by which all nobility, magnificence, splendor, and majesty, which, according to the common opinion, are the true ornaments of a nation, would be quite taken away; yet since I perceived that Raphael was weary, and was not sure whether he could easily bear contradiction, remembering that he had taken notice of some, who seemed to think they were bound in honor to support the credit of their own wisdom, by finding out something to censure in all other men's inventions, besides their own, I only commended their constitution and the account he had given of it in general; and so taking him by the hand, carried him to supper, and told him I would find out some other time for examining this subject more particularly, and for discoursing more copiously upon it; and indeed I shall be glad to embrace an opportunity of doing it. In the mean while, though it must be confessed that he is both a very learned man, and a person who has obtained a great knowledge of the world, I cannot perfectly agree to every thing he has related. However, there are many things in the commonwealth of Utopia, that I rather wish, than hope, to see followed in our governments.



HISTORY OF RICHARD III.

"Sir THOMAS MORE, in that pamphlet of Richard the Third, doth in most part, I believe, of all these points, so content all men, as if the rest of our story of England were so done, we might well compare with France, Italy, or Germany, in that behalf."

ROGER ASCHAM.

"Though the circumstances of the wars between the two roses be, in general, involved in great obscurity, yet is there a most luminous ray thrown on all the transactions during the usurpation of Richard, and the murder of the two young princes, by the narrative of Sir THOMAS MORE, whose singular magnanimity, probity, and judgment, make him an evidence beyond all exception. No historian, either of ancient or modern times, can possibly have more weight."

HUME.

"The great source from whence all later historians have taken their materials for the reign of Richard the Third, is Sir THOMAS MORE. His work is in truth a very beautiful composition. He was then in the vigor of his fancy, and fresh from the study of the Greek and Roman historians, whose manner he has imitated in divers imaginary orations."

HORACE WALPOLE.

THE
HISTORY
OF
KING RICHARD THE THIRD.*

King Edward, of that name the Fourth, after that he had lived fifty and three years, seven months, and six days, and thereof reigned two and twenty years, one month, and eight days, died at Westminster the ninth day of April, the year of our redemption a thousand four hundred fourscore and three, leaving much fair issue; that is to wit, Edward the prince, a thirteen

* The original title was as follows : — "The History of King Richard the Third, (unfinished,) written by Master Thomas More, then one of the under-sheriffs of London, about the year of our Lord, 1513. Which work hath been before this time printed in Harding's Chronicle and in Hall's Chronicle; but very much corrupt in many places, sometime having less and sometime having more, and altered in words and whole sentences; much varying from the copy of his own hand, by which this is printed. Imprinted at London, the year of our Lord God, 1557."

years of age ; Richard, duke of York, two years younger ; Elizabeth, whose fortune and grace was after to be queen, wife unto king Henry the Seventh, and mother unto the Eighth ; Cecily, not so fortunate as fair ; Bridget, which representing the virtue of her whose name she bare, professed and observed a religious life in Dartford, a house of close nuns ; Anne, that was after honorably married unto Thomas, then lord Howard, and after earl of Surrey ; and Katharine, which long time tossed in either fortune, sometime in wealth, oft in adversity, at the last, (if this be the last, for yet she liveth,) is by the benignity of her nephew, king Henry the Eighth, in very prosperous estate, and worthy her birth and virtue.

This noble prince deceased at his palace of Westminster, and with great funeral honor and heaviness of his people from thence conveyed, was interred at Windsor ; a king of such governance and behaviour in time of peace (for in war each part must needs be other's enemy) that there was never any prince of this land attaining the crown by battle, so heartily beloved with the substance of the people ; nor he himself so specially in any part of his life, as at the time of his death. Which favor and affection yet after his decease, by the cruelty, mischief, and trouble of the tempestuous world that followed, highly tow-

ard him more increased. At such time as he died, the displeasure of those that bore him grudge for king Henry's sake the Sixth, whom he deposed, was well assuaged, and in effect quenched, in that that many of them were dead in more than twenty years of his reign, a great part of a long life; and many of them in the mean season grown into his favor, of which he was never strange.

He was a goodly personage, and very princely to behold, of heart courageous, politic in counsel, in adversity nothing abashed, in prosperity rather joyful than proud, in peace just and merciful, in war sharp and fierce, in the field bold and hardy, and, nathless, no farther than wisdom would, adventurous. Whose wars whoso well consider, he shall no less commend his wisdom where he voided, than his manhood where he vanquished. He was of visage lovely, of body mighty, strong, and clean made; howbeit in his latter days, with over liberal diet, somewhat corpulent and boorly, and, nathless, not uncomely. He was of youth greatly given to fleshly wantonness; from which health of body, in great prosperity and fortune, without a special grace, hardly refraineth. This fault not greatly grieved the people; for neither could any one man's pleasure stretch and extend to the displeasure of very many, and was without violence, and over that, in his latter days, lessed

and well left. In which time of his latter days, this realm was in quiet and prosperous estate; no fear of outward enemies, no war in hand, nor none toward, but such as no man looked for; the people toward the prince not in a constrained fear, but in a willing and loving obedience; among themselves, the commons in good peace. The lords whom he knew at variance, himself in his deathbed appeased. He had left all gathering of money (which is the only thing that withdraweth the hearts of Englishmen from the prince) nor any thing intended he to take in hand, by which he should be driven thereto; for his tribute out of France he had before obtained, and the year foregoing his death, he had obtained Berwick. And albeit that all the time of his reign, he was with his people so benign, courteous, and so familiar, that no part of his virtues was more esteemed, yet that condition in the end of his days (in which many princes, by a long continued sovereignty, decline into a proud port from debonair behaviour of their beginning,) marvellously in him grew and increased; so far forth that in the summer the last that ever he saw, his highness being at Windsor in hunting, sent for the mayor and aldermen of London to him, for none other errand, but to have them hunt and be merry with him; where he made them not so stately, but so friendly and so fa-

miliar cheer, and sent venison from thence so freely into the city, that no one thing in many days before gat him either mo hearts or more hearty favor among the common people, which oftentimes more esteem and take for greater kindness, a little courtesy, than a great benefit.

So deceased (as I have said) this noble king, in that time in which his life was most desired. Whose love of his people and their entire affection toward him, had been to his noble children (having in themselves also as many gifts of nature, as many princely virtues, as much goodly towardness as their age could receive,) a marvellous fortress and sure armour, if division and dissension of their friends had not unarmed them and left them destitute, and the execrable desire of sovereignty provoked him to their destruction, which, if either kind or kindness had holden place, must needs have been their chief defence. For Richard, the duke of Gloucester, by nature their uncle, by office their protector, to their father beholden, to themselves by oath and allegiance bounden, all the bands broken that binden man and man together, without any respect of God or the world, unnaturally contrived to bereave them not only their dignity, but also their lives. But forasmuch as this duke's demeanour ministereth in effect all the whole matter whereof this book shall entreat, it is therefore

convenient somewhat to show you, ere we farther go, what manner of man this was, that could find in his heart so much mischief to conceive.

Richard, duke of York, a noble man and a mighty, began not by war, but by law, to challenge the crown, putting his claim into the parliament; where his cause was, either for right or favor, so far forth advanced, that king Henry's blood (albeit he had a goodly prince) utterly rejected, the crown was by authority of parliament entailed unto the duke of York and his issue male in remainder, immediately after the death of king Henry. But the duke, not enduring so long to tarry, but intending, under pretext of dissension and debate arising in the realm, to prevent his time, and to take upon him the rule in king Harry's life, was, with many nobles of the realm, at Wakefield slain, leaving three sons, Edward, George, and Richard. All three, as they were great states of birth, so were they great and stately of stomach, greedy and ambitious of authority, and impatient of partners. Edward, revenging his father's death, deprived king Henry, and attained the crown. George, duke of Clarence, was a goodly, noble prince, and at all points fortunate, if either his own ambition had not set him against his brother, or the envy of his enemies his brother against him.

For, were it by the queen and the lords of her blood, which highly maligned the king's kindred, (as women commonly, not of malice but of nature, hate them whom their husbands love) or were it a proud appetite of the duke himself, intending to be king; at the least wise, heinous treason was there laid to his charge; and finally, were he faulty were he faultless, attainted was he by parliament, and judged to the death, and thereupon hastily drowned in a butt of malmsey; whose death king Edward, (albeit he commanded it) when he wist it was done, piteously bewailed and sorrowfully repented.

Richard, the third son, of whom we now entreat, was in wit and courage egal with either of them, in body and prowess far under them both, little of stature, ill-featured of limbs, crookbacked, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hardfavored of visage, and such as is in states called warlike, in other men otherwise. He was malicious, wrathful, envious, and, from afore his birth, ever froward. It is for truth reported, that the duchess his mother had so much ado in her travail, that she could not be delivered of him uncut; and that he came into the world with the feet forward, as men be born outward, and (as the fame runneth) also not untoothed; whether men of hatred report above the truth, or else that nature changed her course in his beginning, which, in

the course of his life, many things unnaturally committed.

None evil captain was he in the war, as to which his disposition was more meetly than for peace. Sundry victories had he, and sometime overthrows, but never in default, as for his own person, either of hardiness or politic order. Free was he called of dispense, and somewhat above his power liberal. With large gifts he gat him unsteadfast friendship, for which he was fain to pill and spoil in other places, and gat him steadfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deep dissimuler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly coumpinable where he inwardly hated, not letting to kiss whom he thought to kill; despiteous and cruel, not for evil will alway, but ofter for ambition, and either for the surety or increase of his estate. Friend and foe was much what indifferent, where his advantage grew; he spared no man's death, whose life withstood his purpose. He slew with his own hands king Henry the Sixth, being prisoner in the Tower, as men constantly say, and that without commandment or knowledge of the king; which would, undoubtedly, if he had intended that thing, have appointed that butcherly office to some other than his own born brother.

Some wise men also ween, that his drift, covertly conveyed, lacked not in helping forth his

brother Clarence to his death ; which he resisted openly, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintly than he that were heartily minded to his wealth. And they that thus deem, think that he long time, in king Edward's life, forethought to be king in case that the king his brother (whose life he looked that evil diet should shorten) should happen to decease (as indeed he did) while his children were young. And they deem, that for this intent he was glad of his brother's death the duke of Clarence, whose life must needs have hindered him so intending, whether the same duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephew, the young king, or enterprised to be king himself. But of all this point is there no certainty, and whoso divineth upon conjectures, may as well shoot too far as too short. Howbeit, this have I by credible information learned, that the self night in which king Edward died, one Mistlebrook, long ere morning, came in great haste to the house of one Potter, dwelling in Redcross-street without Cripplegate ; and when he was with hasty rapping quickly letten in, he showed unto Potter that king Edward was departed. "By my troth, man," quod Potter, "then will my master the duke of Gloucester be king." What cause he had so to think, hard it is to say ; whether he being toward him, any thing knew that he such thing purposed, or otherwise had

any inkling thereof; for he was not likely to speak it of nought.

But now to return to the course of this history. Were it that the duke of Gloucester had of old foreminded this conclusion, or was now at erst thereunto moved, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the young princes, his nephews, (as opportunity and likelihood of speed putteth a man in courage of that he never intended,) certain is it that he contrived their destruction, with the usurpation of the regal dignity upon himself. And forasmuch as he well wist, and help to maintain, a long continued grudge and heart-brenning between the queen's kindred and the king's blood, either party envying other's authority, he now thought that their division should be (as it was indeed) a furtherly beginning to the pursuit of his intent, and a sure ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might first, under the pretext of revenging of old displeasure, abuse the anger and ignorance of the one party to the destruction of the tother; and then win to his purpose as many as he could, and those that could not be won, might be lost ere they looked therefore. For of one thing was he certain, that if his intent were perceived, he should soon have made peace between the both parties, with his own blood.

King Edward, in his life, albeit that this

dissension between his friends somewhat irked him, yet in his good health he somewhat the less regarded it, because he thought whatsoever business should fall between them, himself should alway be able to rule both the parties.

But in his last sickness, when he perceived his natural strength so sore enfeebled, that he despaired all recovery, then he, considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing less mistrusted than that that happened, yet well foreseeing that many harms might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lack discretion of themselves and good counsel of their friends, of which either party should counsel for their own commodity, and rather by pleasant advice to win themselves favor, than by profitable advertisement to do the children good, — he called some of them before him that were at variance, and in especial the lord marquis Dorset, the queen's son by her first husband, and Richard, the lord Hastings, a noble man, then lord chamberlain, against whom the queen specially grudged, for the great favor the king bare him, and also for that she thought him secretly familiar with the king in wanton company. Her kindred also bare him sore, as well for that the king had made him captain of Calais (which office the lord Rivers, brother to the queen, claimed of the king's former promise,) as for divers other

great gifts which he received, that they looked for. When these lords, with divers other of both the parties, were come in presence, the king, lifting up himself, and underset with pillows, as it is reported, on this wise said unto them.

“ My lords, my dear kinsmen and allies, in what plight I lie you see, and I feel. By which the less while I look to live with you, the more deeply am I moved to care in what case I leave you ; for such as I leave you, such be my children like to find you. Which, if they should (that God forbid !) find you at variance, might happen to fall themselves at war ere their discretion would serve to set you at peace. Ye see their youth, of which I reckon the only surety to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all you love them, if each of you hate other. If they were men, your faithfulness haply would suffice. But childhood must be maintained by men’s authority, and slipper youth underpropped with elder counsel ; which neither they can have, but ye give it, nor ye give it, if ye gree not. For where each laboreth to break that the other maketh, and for hatred of each of other’s person, impugneth each other’s counsel, there must it needs be long ere any good conclusion go forward. And also while either party laboreth to be chief, flattery shall have more place than plain and faithful advice ; of which

must needs ensue the evil bringing up of the prince, whose mind, in tender youth infect, shall readily fall to mischief and riot, and draw down with this noble realm to ruin, but if grace turn him to wisdom ; which if God send, then they that by evil means before pleased him best, shall after fall farthest out of favor ; so that ever at length evil drifts drive to nought, and good plain ways prosper.

“Great variance hath there long been between you, not alway for great causes. Sometime a thing right well intended, our misconstruction turneth unto worse ; or a small displeasure done us, either our own affection or evil tongues ag-grieveth. But this wot I well, ye never had so great cause of hatred, as ye have of love. That we be all men, that we be christian men, this shall I leave for preachers to tell you (and yet I wot nere whether any preacher’s words ought more to move you, than his that is by and by going to the place that they all preach of.) But this shall I desire you to remember, that the one part of you is of my blood, the other of mine allies, and each of you with other either of kindred or affinity ; which spiritual kindred of affinity, if the sacraments of Christ’s church bare that weight with us that would God they did, should no less move us to charity, than the respect of fleshly consanguinity. Our Lord forbid,

that you love together the worse, for the self cause that you ought to love the better. And yet that happeneth ; and nowhere find we so deadly debate as among them, which, by nature and law, most ought to agree together. Such a pestilent serpent is ambition and desire of vain glory and sovereignty, which, among states where he once entereth, creepeth forth so far, till with division and variance he turneth all to mischief; first longing to be next the best, afterwards egal with the best, and at last chief and above the best. Of which immoderate appetite of worship, and thereby of debate and dissension, what loss, what sorrow, what trouble, hath within these few years grown in this realm, I pray God as well forget, as we well remember.

“ Which things if I could as well have foreseen, as I have with my more pain than pleasure proved, by God’s blessed lady (that was ever his oath) I would never have won the courtesy of men’s knees, with the loss of so many heads. But sithen things past cannot be gain called, much ought we the more beware, by what occasion we have taken so great hurt afore, that we eftsoons fall not in that occasion again. Now be those griefs passed, and all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likely right well to prosper in wealthful peace under your cousins, my’ children, if God send them life and you love. Of which

two things, the less loss were they, by whom though God did his pleasure, yet should the realm always find kings, and peradventure as good kings. But if you among yourselves, in a child's reign, fall at debate, many a good man shall perish, and haply he too, and ye too, ere this land find peace again. Wherefore, in these last words that ever I look to speak with you, I exhort you and require you all, for the love that you have ever born to me, for the love that I have ever born to you, for the love that our Lord beareth to us all, from this time forward, all griefs forgotten, each of you love other. Which I verily trust you will, if ye any thing earthly regard, either God or your king, affinity or kindred, this realm, your own country, or your own surety."

And therewithal the king, no longer enduring to sit up, laid him down on his right side, his face toward them; and none was there present that could refrain from weeping. But the lords recomforting him with as good words as they could, and answering for the time as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence (as by their words appeared) each forgave other, and joined their hands together, when (as it after appeared by their deeds) their hearts were far asunder.

As soon as the king was departed, the noble

prince, his son, drew towards London, which, at the time of his decease, kept his household at Ludlow, in Wales. Which country being far off from the law and recourse to justice, was begun to be far out of good will, and waxen wild, robbers and reavers walking at liberty uncorrected. And for this encheason the prince was in the life of his father sent thither, to the end that the authority of his presence should refrain evil-disposed persons from the boldness of their former outrages. To the governance and ordering of this young prince at his sending thither, was there appointed Sir Anthony Woodville, lord Rivers and brother unto the queen, a right honorable man, as valiant of hand as politic in counsel. Adjoined were there unto him other of the same party ; and in effect every one, as he was nearest of kin unto the queen, so was planted next about the prince.

That drift, by the queen not unwisely devised, whereby her blood might of youth be rooted in the prince's favor, the duke of Gloucester turned unto their destruction, and upon that ground set the foundation of all his unhappy building. For whomsoever he perceived either at variance with them, or bearing himself their favor, he brake unto them, some by mouth, some by writing and secret messengers, that " it neither was reason, nor in any wise to be suffered, that the young

king, their master and kinsman, should be in the hands and custody of his mother's kindred, sequestered in manner from their company and attendance, of which every one ought him as faithful service as they, and many of them far more honorable part of kin than his mother's side; whose blood, (quod he) saving the king's pleasure, was full unmeetly to be matched with his; which now to be, as who say, removed from the king, and the less noble to be left about him, is (quod he) neither honorable to his majesty nor unto us, and also to his grace no surety to have the mightiest of his friends from him, and unto us no little jeopardy, to suffer our well-proved evil willers to grow in over great authority with the prince in youth, namely which is light of belief and soon persuaded. Ye remember, I trow, king Edward himself, albeit he was a man of age and of discretion, yet was he in many things ruled by that bend, more than stood either with his honor, or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except only the immoderate advancement of themselves. Which whether they sorer thirsted after their own weal or our wo, it were hard, I ween, to guess. And if some folks' friendship had not holden better place with the king, than any respect of kindred, they might peradventure easily have betrayed and brought to confusion some of us ere this.

Why not as easily as they have done some other already, as near of his royal blood as we? But our Lord hath wrought his will, and thanks be to his grace, that peril is past. Howbeit as great is growing, if we suffer this young king in our enemy's hand; which, without his witting, might abuse the name of his commandment to any of our undoing; which thing God and good provision forbid. Of which good provision none of us hath any thing the less need, for the late made atonement, in which the king's pleasure had more place than the parties' wills. Nor none of us, I believe, is so unwise, oversoon to trust a new friend made of an old foe, or to think that an hourly kindness, suddenly contract in one hour, continued yet scant a fortnight, should be deeper settled in their stomachs than a long accustomed malice, many years rooted."

With these words and writings and such other, the duke of Gloucester soon set afire them that were of themselves ethe to kindle, and in especial twain, Edward duke of Buckingham, and Richard lord Hastings and chamberlain, both men of honor and of great power; the one by long succession from his ancestry, the other by his office and the king's favor. These two, not bearing each to other so much love, as hatred both unto the queen's party, in this point accorded together with the duke of Gloucester, that they

would utterly amove from the king's company, all his mother's friends, under the name of their enemies. Upon this concluded, the duke of Gloucester understanding that the lords which at that time were about the king, intended to bring him up to his coronation, accompanied with such power of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to pass without the gathering and great assembly of people and in manner of open war, whereof the end he wist was doubtuous, and in which the king being on their side, his part should have the face and name of a rebellion; he secretly therefore, by divers means, caused the queen to be persuaded and brought in the mind, that "it neither were, need, and also should be jeopardous, the king to come up strong. For whereas now every lord loved other, and none other thing studied upon but about the coronation and honor of the king, if the lords of her kindred should assemble in the king's name much people, they should give the lords atwixt whom and them had been some time debate, to fear and suspect, lest they should gather this people, not for the king's safeguard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, having more regard to their old variance, than their new atonement. For which cause they should assemble on the other party much people again for their defence, whose power she

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wist well far stretched ; and thus should all the realm fall on a roar. And of all the hurt that thereof should ensue, which was likely not to be little, and the most harm there like to fall where she least would, all the world would put her and her kindred in the wite, and say that they had unwisely, and untruly also, broken the amity and peace that the king her husband so prudently made between his kin and hers in his deathbed, and which the other party faithfully observed.

The queen, being in this wise persuaded, such word sent unto her son, and unto her brother, being about the king ; and over that, the duke of Gloucester himself and other lords the chief of his bend, wrote unto the king so reverently, and to the queen's friends there so lovingly, that they, nothing earthly mistrusting, brought the king up in great haste, not in good speed, with a sober company. Now was the king in his way to London gone, from Northampton, when these dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham came thither ; where remained behind the lord Rivers, the king's uncle, intending on the morrow to follow the king, and be with him at Stony Stratford, ——— miles thence, early or he departed. So was there made that night much friendly cheer between these dukes and the lord Rivers a great while. But inconti-

ment, after that they were openly with great courtesy departed, and the lord Rivers lodged, the dukes secretly with a few of their most privy friends, set them down in council, wherein they spent a great part of the night. And at their rising in the dawning of the day, they sent about privily to their servants in their inns and lodgings about, giving them commandment to make themselves shortly ready, for their lords were to horsebackward. Upon which messages, many of their folk were attendant, when many of the lord Rivers's servants were unready. Now had these dukes taken also into their custody the keys of the inn, that none should pass forth without their license. And over this, in the highway toward Stony Stratford, where the king lay, they had bestowed certain of their folk, that should send back again, and compel to return, any man that were gotten out of Northampton toward Stony Stratford, till they should give other license; forasmuch as the dukes themselves intended, for the show of their diligence, to be the first that should that day attend upon the king's highness out of that town. Thus bare they folk in hand.

But when the lord Rivers understood the gates closed, and the ways on every side beset, neither his servants nor himself suffered to goe out, perceiving well so great a thing without his

knowledge not begun for nought, comparing this manner present with this last night's cheer, in so few hours so great a change marvellously misliked. Howbeit, sith he could not get away, and keep himself close, he would not, lest he should seem to hide himself for some secret fear of his own fault, whereof he saw no such cause in himself, he determined, upon the surety of his own conscience, to go boldly to them, and inquire what this matter might mean. Whom as soon as they saw, they began to quarrel with him, and say, that he intended to set distance between the king and them, and to bring them to confusion ; but it should not lie in his power. And when he began (as he was a very well spoken man,) in goodly wise to excuse himself, they tarried not the end of his answer, but shortly took him and put him in ward, and that done, forthwith went to horseback, and took the way to Stony Stratford ; where they found the king with his company ready to leap on horseback and depart forward, to leave that lodging for them, because it was too strait for both companies. And as soon as they came in his presence, they light adown with all their company about them. To whom the duke of Buckingham said, "Go afore, gentlemen and yeomen, keep your rooms." And thus, in a goodly array, they came to the king, and on their knees, in very humble

wise, saluted his grace ; which received them in very joyous and amiable manner, nothing earthly knowing nor mistrusting as yet.

But even by and by, in his presence, they picked a quarrel to the lord Richard Gray, the king's other brother by his mother, saying that he, with the lord marquis, his brother, and the lord Rivers, his uncle, had compassed to rule the king and the realm, and to set variance among the states, and to subdue and destroy the noble blood of the realm. Towards the accomplishing whereof, they said that the lord marquis had entered into the Tower of London, and thence taken out the king's treasure, and sent men to the sea. All which things these dukes wist well were done, for good purposes and necessary, by the whole council at London, saving that somewhat they must say. Unto which words the king answered, "What my brother marquis hath done, I cannot say. But in good faith I dare well answer for my uncle Rivers and my brother here, that they be innocent of any such matters." "Yea, my liege," quod the duke of Buckingham," they have kept their dealing in these matters far from the knowledge of your good grace." And forthwith they arrested the lord Richard and Sir Thomas Vaughan, knight, in the king's presence, and brought the king and all back unto Northampton, where

they took again further counsel. And there they sent away from the king whom it pleased them, and set new servants about him, such as liked better them than him. At which dealing he wept and was nothing content; but it booteth not. And at dinner the duke of Gloucester sent a dish from his own table to the lord Rivers, praying him to be of good cheer, all should be well enough. And he thanked the duke, and prayed the messenger to bear it to his nephew, the lord Richard, with the same message for his comfort, who he thought had more need of comfort, as one to whom such adversity was strange; but himself had been all his days inured therewith, and therefore could bear it the better. But for all this comfortable courtesy of the duke of Gloucester, he sent the lord Rivers and the lord Richard with Sir Thomas Vaughan into the north country into divers places to prison, and afterward all to Pomfret, where they were in conclusion beheaded.

In this wise the duke of Gloucester took upon himself the order and governance of the young king, whom with much honor and humble reverence he conveyed upward toward the city. But anon the tidings of this matter came hastily to the queen, a little before the midnight following, and that in the sorest wise, that the king her son was taken, her brother, her son, and her other

friends arrested, and sent no man wist whither, to be done with God wot what. With which tidings the queen, in great flight and heaviness, bewailing her child's ruin, her friends' mischance, and her own infortune, damning the time that ever she dissuaded the gathering of power about the king, gat herself in all the haste possible with her younger son and her daughters out of the palace of Westminster, in which she then lay, into the sanctuary, lodging herself and her company there in the abbot's place.

Now came there one in like wise, not long after midnight, from the lord chamberlain unto the archbishop of York, then chancellor of England, to his place not far from Westminster. And for that he showed his servants that he had tidings of so great importance, that his master gave him in charge not to forbear his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admit this messenger in to his bed side. Of whom he heard, that these dukes were gone back with the king's grace from Stony Stratford unto Northampton. "Notwithstanding, sir," quod he, "my lord sendeth your lordship word, that there is no fear; for he assureth you that all shall be well." "I assure him," quod the archbishop, "be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have seen it."

And thereupon, by and by after the messenger departed, he caused in all the haste all his ser-

yants to be called up, and so with his own household about him, and every man weaponed, he took the great seal with him, and came yet before day unto the queen. About whom he found much heaviness, rumble, haste and business, carriage and conveyance of her stuff into sanctuary, chests, coffers, packs, fardels, trusses, all on men's backs, no man unoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking down the walls to bring in the next way, and some yet drew to them that help to carry a wrong way. The queen herself sat alone alow on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed; whom the archbishop comforted in the best manner he could, showing her that he trusted the matter was nothing so sore as she took it for; and that he was put in good hope and out of fear, by the message sent him from the lord chamberlain. "Ah! wo worth him!" quod she, "for he is one of them that laboreth to destroy me and my blood." "Madam," quod he, "be ye of good cheer. For I assure you if they crown any other king than your son, whom they now have with them, we shall on the morrow crown his brother whom you have here with you; and here is the great seal, which in like wise as that noble prince your husband delivered it unto me, so here I deliver it unto you, to the use and behoof of your son." And therewith he betook her the

great seal, and departed home again, yet in the dawning of the day. By which time he might, in his chamber window, see all the Thames full of boats of the duke of Gloucester's servants, watching that no man should go to sanctuary, nor none could pass unsearched.

Then was there great commotion and murmur, as well in other places about, as specially in the city, the people diversely divining upon this dealing. And some lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for favor of the queen, or for fear of themselves, assembled in sundry companies, and went flockmell in harness; and many also, for that they reckoned this demeanour attempted not so specially against the other lords as against the king himself, in the disturbance of his coronation. But then by and by the lords assembled together at ———. Toward which meeting, the archbishop of York, fearing that it would be ascribed (as it was indeed) to his overmuch lightness, that he so suddenly had yielded up the great seal to the queen, to whom the custody thereof nothing pertained without especial commandment of the king, secretly sent for the seal again, and brought it with him after the customable manner. And at this meeting, the lord Hastings, whose truth toward the king no man doubted nor needed to doubt, persuaded the lords to believe, that the duke of Gloucester was sure and

fastly faithful to his prince; and that the lord Rivers and lord Richard, with the other knights, were, for matters attempted by them against the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, put under arrest for their surety, not for the king's jeopardy; and that they were also in safeguard, and there no longer should remain, than till the matter were, not by the dukes only, but also by all the other lords of the king's council indifferently examined, and by other discretions ordered, and either judged or appeased. But one thing he advised them beware, that they judged not the matter too far forth, ere they knew the truth, nor turning their private grudges into the common hurt; irritating and provoking men unto anger, and disturbing the king's coronation; toward which the dukes were coming up, that they might peradventure bring the matter so far out of joint, that it should never be brought in frame again. Which strife if it should hap, as it were likely, to come to a field, though both parties were in all other things egal, yet should the authority be on that side where the king is himself.

With these persuasions of the lord Hastings, whereof part himself believed, of part he wist the contrary, these commotions were somewhat appeased; but specially, by that that the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham were so near,

and came so shortly on with the king, in none other manner, with none other voice or semblance, than to his coronation ; causing the fame to be blown about, that these lords and knights which were taken, had contrived the destruction of the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and of other the noble blood of the realm, to the end that themselves would alone demean and govern the king at their pleasure. And for the colorable proof thereof, such of the duke's servants as rode with the carts of their stuff that were taken (among which stuff, no marvel though some were harness, which, at the breaking up of that household, must needs either be brought away or cast away) they showed unto the people all the way as they went ; " Lo ! here be the barrels of harness that these traitors had privily conveyed in their carriage to destroy the noble lords withal ! " This device, albeit that it made the matter to wise men more unlikely, well perceiving that the intenders of such a purpose would rather have had their harness on their backs, than to have bound them up in barrels, yet much part of the common people were therewith very well satisfied, and said it were almoise to hang them.

When the king approached near to the city, Edmund Shaw, goldsmith, then mayor, with William White and John Matthews, sheriffs, and

all the other aldermen in scarlet, with five hundred horse of the citizens in violet, received him reverently at Harnsey; and riding from thence, accompanied him into the city, which he entered the fourth day of May, the first and last year of his reign. But the duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reverently to the prince, with all semblance of lowliness, that from the great obloquy in which he was so late before, he was suddenly fallen in so great trust, that at the council next assembled, he was made the only man chose and thought most meet to be protector of the king and his realm, so that (were it destiny or were it folly) the lamb was betaken to the wolf to keep. At which council also the archbishop of York, chancellor of England, which had delivered up the great seal to the queen, was thereof greatly reprovèd, and the seal taken from him and delivered to doctor Russell, bishop of Lincoln, a wise man and a good, and of much experience, and one of the best learned men undoubtedly that England had in his time. Divers lords and knights were appointed unto divers rooms. The lord chamberlain and some other kept still their offices that they had before.

Now all were it so that the protector so sore thirsted for the finishing of that he had begun, that thought every day a year till it were achieved, yet durst he no further attempt as long as he

had but half his prey in his hand ; well witting that if he deposed the one brother, all the realm would fall to the tother, if he either remained in sanctuary, or should haply be shortly conveyed to his farther liberty. Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the lords at the council, he proposed unto them, that " it was a heinous deed of the queen, and proceeding of great malice toward the king's counsellors, that she should keep in sanctuary the king's brother from him, whose special pleasure and comfort were to have his brother with him ; and that by her done to none other intent, but to bring all the lords in obloquy and murmur of the people. As though they were not to be trusted with the king's brother, that, by the assent of the nobles of the land, were appointed, as the king's nearest friends, to the tuition of his own royal person ; the prosperity whereof standeth (quod he) not all in keeping from enemies or ill viand, but partly also in recreation and moderate pleasure ; which he cannot in this tender youth take in the company of ancient persons, but in the familiar conversation of those that be neither far under, nor far above his age, and nathless of estate convenient to accompany his noble majesty. Wherefore with whom rather than his own brother ? And if any man think this consideration light, (which I think no man thinketh that loveth

the king,) let him consider that sometime without small things greater cannot stand. And verily it redoundeth greatly to the dishonor both of the king's highness and of all us that been about his grace, to have it run in every man's mouth, not in this realm only, but also in other lands, (as evil words walk far,) that the king's brother should be fain to keep sanctuary. For every man will ween, that no man will so do for nought. And such evil opinion once fastened in men's hearts, hard it is to wrest out, and may grow to more grief than any man here can divine.

“Wherefore methinketh it were not worst to send unto the queen, for the redress of this matter, some honorable, trusty man, such as both tendereth the king's weal, and the honor of his council, and is also in favor and credence with her. For all which considerations, none seemeth me more meetly than our reverend father here present, my lord cardinal, who may in this matter do most good of any man, if it please him to take the pain. Which I doubt not of his goodness he will not refuse, for the king's sake and ours, and wealth of the young duke himself, the king's most honorable brother, and, after my sovereign lord himself, my most dear nephew; considered that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumor and obloquy now going, and the hurts avoided that thereof might ensue, and much rest and

quiet grow to all the realm. And if she be, percase, so obstinate, and so precisely set upon her own will, that neither his wise and faithful advertisement can move her, nor any man's reason content her, then shall we by mine advice, by the king's authority fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his noble presence; in whose continual company he shall be so well cherished and so honorably entreated, that all the world shall, to our honor and her reproach, perceive that it was only malice, frowardness, or folly, that caused her to keep him there. This is my mind in this matter for this time, except any of your lordships any thing perceive to the contrary. For never shall I, by God's grace, so wed myself to mine own will, but that I shall be ready to change it upon your better advices."

When the protector had said, all the council affirmed that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the king and the duke his brother, honorable, and a thing that should cease great murmur in the realm, if the mother might be by good means induced to deliver him. Which thing the archbishop of York, whom they all agreed also to be thereto most convenient, took upon him to move her, and therein to do his uttermost devoir. Howbeit, if she could be in no wise entreated with her good will to deliver him, then thought he and such other as were of the

spirituality present, that "it were not in any wise to be attempted to take him out against her will. For it would be a thing that should turn to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the privilege of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many years been kept, which both kings and popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was more than five hundred years ago by Saint Peter's own person in spirit, accompanied with great multitude of angels, by night so specially hallowed and dedicate to God, (for the proof whereof they have yet in the abbey Saint Peter's cope to show) that from that time hitherward, was there never so undevout a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holy a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate. And therefore (quod the archbishop of York) God forbid that any man should, for any thing earthly, enterprise to break the immunity and liberty of that sacred sanctuary, that hath been the safeguard of so many a good man's life. And I trust (quod he) with God's grace, we shall not need it. But for any manner need, I would not we should do it. I trust that she shall be with reason contented, and all thing in good manner obtained. And if it happen that I bring it not so to pass, yet shall I toward it so far forth do my best, that ye shall all well per-

ceive, that no lack of my devoir, but the mother's dread and womanish fear, shall be the let."

"Womanish fear! nay, womanish frowardness (quod the duke of Buckingham.) For I dare take it upon my soul, she well knoweth she needeth no such thing to fear, either for her son or for herself. For as for her, here is no man that will be at war with women. Would God some of the men of her kin were women too, and then should all be soon in rest. Howbeit there is none of her kin the less loved, for that they be her kin, but for their own evil deserving. And nathless, if we loved neither her nor her kin, yet were there no cause to think that we should hate the king's noble brother, to whose grace we ourselves be of kin. Whose honor if she as much desired as our dishonor, and as much regard took to his wealth as to her own will, she would be as loath to suffer him from the king, as any of us be. For if she have any wit, (as would God she had as good will as she hath shrewd wit) she reckoneth herself no wiser than she thinketh some that be here, of whose faithful mind she nothing doubteth, but verily believeth and knoweth that they would be as sorry of his harm as herself, and yet would have him from her if she bide there. And we all (I think) content, that both be with her, if she come thence and bide in such place where they may with their honor be.

“Now then if she refuse, in the deliverance of him, to follow the counsel of them whose wisdom she knoweth, whose truth she well trusteth, it is ethe to perceive that frowardness letteth her, and not fear. But go to, suppose that she fear (as who may let her to fear her own shadow?) the more she feareth to deliver him, the more ought we fear to leave him in her hands. For if she cast such fond doubts, that she fear his hurt, then will she fear that he shall be fet thence. For she will soon think, that if men were set (which God forbid!) upon so great a mischief, the sanctuary would little let them. Which good men might, as methinketh, without sin somewhat less regard than they do.

“Now then if she doubt lest he might be fetched from her, is it not likely enough that she shall send him somewhere out of the realm? Verily, I look for none other. And I doubt not but she now as sore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if she might happen to bring that to pass, (as it were no great mastery, we letting her alone,) all the world would say that we were a wise sort of counsellors about a king, that let his brother be cast away under our noses. And therefore I ensure you faithfully for my mind, I will rather, maugre her mind, fetch him away, than leave him there, till her frowardness or fond fear convey him away. And yet will I break no

sanctuary therefore. For verily, sith the privileges of that place and other like, have been of long continued, I am not he that would be about to break them. And in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be he that should be about to make them. Yet will I not say nay, but that it is a deed of pity, that such men as the sea or their evil debtors have brought in poverty, should have some place of liberty, to keep their bodies out of the danger of their cruel creditors. And also if the crown happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either part taketh other as traitors, I will well there be some places of refuge for both. But as for thieves, of which these places be full, and which never fall from the craft after they once fall thereto, it is pity the sanctuary should serve them. And much more manquellers, whom God bade to take from the altar and kill them, if their murder were wilful. And where it is otherwise, there need we not the sanctuaries that God appointed in the old law. For if either necessity, his own defence, or misfortune draw him to that deed, a pardon serveth, which either the law granteth of course, or the king of pity may.

“Then look me now how few sanctuary men there be, whom any favorable necessity compelled to go thither. And then see, on the tother side, what a sort there be commonly therein,

of them whom wilful unthriftiness hath brought to nought. What a rabble of thieves, murtherers, and malicious, heinous traitors, and that in two places specially; the tone at the elbow of the city, the tother in the very bowels. I dare well avow it, weigh the good that they do, with the hurt that cometh of them, and ye shall find it much better to lack both, than have both. And this I say, although they were not abused as they now be, and so long have been, that I fear me ever they will be while men be afeard to set their hands to the mendment; as though God and Saint Peter were the patrons of ungracious living.

“Now unthrifths riot and run in debt, upon the boldness of these places; yea, and rich men run thither with poor men’s goods; there they build, there they spend, and bid their creditors go whistle them. Men’s wives run thither with their husband’s plate, and say they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Thieves bring thither their stolen goods, and there live thereon. There devise they new robberies, nightly they steal out, they rob and reave and kill, and come in again, as though those places gave them not only a safeguard for the harm they have done, but a license also to do more. Howbeit, much of this mischief, if wise men would set their hands to, it might be amended, with great thank of God, and no breach of the privilege.

The residue, sith so long ago I wot nere what pope and what prince, more piteous than politic, hath granted it, and other men since, of a certain religious fear, have not broken it, let us take a pain therewith, and let it, a God's name, stand in force, as far forth as reason will. Which is not fully so far forth, as may serve to let us of the fetching forth of this noble man to his honor and wealth, out of that place in which he neither is nor can be a sanctuary man.

“A sanctuary serveth alway to defend the body of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt only, but also of lawful hurt. For against unlawful harms, never pope nor king intended to privilege any one place; for that privilege hath every place. Knoweth any man any place wherein it is lawful one man to do another wrong? That no man unlawfully take hurt, that liberty, the king, the law, and very nature forbiddeth in every place, and maketh to that regard for every man every place a sanctuary.

“But where a man is by lawful means in peril, there needeth he the tuition of some special privilege, which is the only ground and cause of all sanctuaries. From which necessity this noble prince is far; whose love to his king, nature and kindred proveth; whose innocence to all the world, his tender youth proveth. And so sanctuary as for him, neither none he needeth, nor

also none can have. Men come not to sanctuary as they come to baptism, to require it by their godfathers. He must ask it himself that must have it. And reason, sith no man hath cause to have it, but whose conscience of his own fault maketh him fain need to require it. What will then hath yonder babe? which and if he had discretion to require it, if need were, I dare say would now be right angry with them that keep him there. And I would think without any scruple of conscience, without any breach of privilege, to be somewhat more homely with them that be there sanctuary men indeed. For if one go to sanctuary with another man's goods, why should not the king, leaving his body at liberty, satisfy the part of his goods even within the sanctuary? For neither king nor pope can give any place such a privilege, that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to pay."

And with that divers of the clergy that were present, whether they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought, agreed plainly, that by the law of God and of the church, the goods of a sanctuary man should be delivered in payment of his debts, and stolen goods to the owner, and only liberty reserved him to get his living with the labor of his hands. "Verily (quod the duke) I think you say very truth. And what if a man's wife will take sanctuary, because she list to run

from her husband ; I would ween, if she can allege none other cause, he may lawfully, without any displeasure to Saint Peter, take her out of Saint Peter's church by the arm. And if no body may be taken out of sanctuary that saith he will bide there, then if a child will take sanctuary because he feareth to go to school, his master must let him alone. And as simple as that sample is, yet is there less reason in our case than in that. For therein, though it be a childish fear, yet is there at the leastwise some fear ; and herein is there none at all. And verily I have often heard of sanctuary men ; but I never heard erst of sanctuary children. And therefore, as for the conclusion of my mind, whoso may have deserved to need it, if they think it for their surety, let them keep it. But he can be no sanctuary man, that neither hath wisdom to desire it, nor malice to deserve it, whose life or liberty can by no lawful process stand in jeopardy. And he that taketh one out of sanctuary to do him good, I say plainly that he breaketh no sanctuary."

When the duke had done, the temporal men whole, and good part of the spiritual also, thinking none hurt earthly meant toward the young babe, condescended in effect, that if he were not delivered, he should be fetched. Howbeit they thought it all best, in the avoiding of all manner

of rumor, that the lord cardinal should first assay to get him with her good will. And thereupon all the council came unto the starchamber at Westminster. And the lord cardinal leaving the protector with the council in the starchamber, departed into the sanctuary to the queen, with divers other lords with him; were it for the respect of his honor, or that she should, by presence of so many, perceive that this errand was not one man's mind; or were it for that the protector intended not in this matter to trust any one man alone; or else that if she finally were determined to keep him, some of that company had haply secret instruction, incontinent, maugre her mind, to take him, and to leave her no respite to convey him; which she was likely to mind after this matter broken to her, if her time would in any wise serve her.

When the queen and these lords were come together in presence, the lord cardinal showed unto her, that "it was thought unto the Protector and unto the whole council, that her keeping of the king's brother in that place was the thing which highly sounded, not only to the great rumor of the people, and their obloquy, but also to the importable grief and displeasure of the king's royal majesty. To whose grace it were as singular comfort, to have his natural brother in company, as it was their both dishonor, and all

theirs and hers also, to suffer him in sanctuary ; as though the tone brother stood in danger and peril of the tother. And he showed her that the council therefore had sent him unto her, to require her the delivery of him, that he might be brought unto the king's presence at his liberty, out of that place which they reckoned as a prison ; and there should he be demeaned according to his estate. And she in this doing should both do great good to the realm, pleasure to the council, and profit to herself, succour to her friends that were in distress, and over that, (which he wist well she specially tendered,) not only great comfort and honor to the king, but also to the young duke himself, whose both great wealth it were to be together, as well for many greater causes, as also for their both disport and recreation ; which thing the lord esteemed no slight, thought it seem light, well pondering that their youth without recreation and play cannot endure, nor any stranger, for the convenience of their both ages and estates, so meetly in that point for any of them as either of them for other."

"My lord, (quod the queen,) I say not nay, but that it were very convenient that this gentleman whom ye require, were in the company of the king, his brother. And in good faith, methinketh it were as great commodity to them both, as for yet a while, to ben in the custody of

their mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but special the younger ; which, besides his infancy, that also needeth good looking to, hath awhile been so sore diseased, vexed with sickness, and is so newly rather a little amended than well recovered, that I dare put no person earthly in trust with his keeping but myself only ; considering that there is, as physicians say, and as we also find, double the peril in the recidivation, that was in the first sickness, with which disease nature being forelabored, forewearied and weakened, waxeth the less able to bear out a new surfeit. And albeit there might be founden other, that would haply do their best unto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him than I that so long have kept him, or is more tenderly like to cherish him, than his own mother that bare him."

"No man denieth, good madam, (quod the cardinal) but that your grace were of all folk most necessary about your children ; and so would all the council not only be content, but also glad that ye were, if it might stand with your pleasure to be in such place as might stand with their honor. But if you appoint yourself to tarry here, then think they yet more convenient, that the duke of York were with the king honorably at his liberty, to the comfort of them

both, than here as a sanctuary man, to their both dishonor and obloquy; sith there is not always so great necessity to have the child be with the mother, but that occasion may sometime be such, that it should be more expedient to keep him elsewhere. Which in this well appeareth, that at such time as your dearest son, then prince and now king, should, for his honor and good order of the country, keep household in Wales, far out of your company, your grace was well content therewith yourself."

"Not very well content, (quod the queen). And yet the case is not like; for the tone was then in health, and the tother is now sick. In which case I marvel greatly that my lord protector is so desirous to have him in his keeping; where, if the child in his sickness miscarried by nature, yet might he run into slander and suspicion of fraud. And where they call it a thing so sore against my child's honor and theirs also, that he biddeth in this place, it is all their honors there to suffer him bide, where no man doubteth he shall be best kept. And that is here, while I am here, which as yet intend not to come forth and jubard myself after other of my friends; which would God were rather here in surety with me, than I were there in jubardy with them." "Why, madam, (quod another lord) know you any thing why they should be in ju-

bardy ? ” “ Nay, verily, sir, (quod she,) nor why they should be in prison neither, as they now be. But it is, I trow, no great marvel, though I fear lest those that have not letted to put them in duresse without color, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause.”

The cardinal made a countenance to the tother lord, that he should harp no more upon that string. And then said he to the queen, that “ he nothing doubted, but that those lords of her honorable kin, which as yet remained under arrest, should, upon the matter examined, do well enough. And as toward her noble person, neither was nor could be any manner jubardy.” “ Whereby should I trust that ? (quod the queen); In that I am guiltless ? As though they were guilty. In that I am with their enemies better beloved than they ? When they hate them for my sake. In that I am so near of kin to the king ? And how far be they off, if that would help, as God send grace it hurt not. And therefore as for me, I purpose not as yet to depart hence. And as for this gentleman, my son, I mind that he shall be where I am till I see further. For I assure you, for that I see some men so greedy without any substantial cause to have him, this maketh me much the more farder to deliver him.”

“Truly, madam, (quod he,) and the farder that you be to deliver him, the farder been other men to suffer you to keep him, lest your causeless fear might cause you further to convey him. And many be there that think that he can have no privilege in this place, which neither can have will to ask it, nor malice to deserve it. And therefore they reckon no privilege broken, though they fetch him out. Which, if ye finally refuse to deliver him, I verily think they will. So much dread hath my lord his uncle, for the tender love he beareth him, lest your grace should hap to send him away.”

“Ah! sir, (quod the queen,) hath the protector so tender zeal to him, that he feareth nothing but lest he should escape him? Thinketh he that I would send him hence, which neither is in the plight to send out, and in what place could I reckon him sure, if he be not sure in this, the sanctuary whereof, was there never tyrant yet so devilish that durst presume to break? And I trust God as strong now to withstand his adversaries, as ever he was. ‘But my son can deserve no sanctuary, and therefore he cannot have it.’ Forsooth, he hath founden a goodly gloss, by which that place that may defend a thief, may not save an innocent. ‘But he is in no jeopardy, nor hath no need thereof.’ Would God he had not. Troweth the protector

(I pray God he may prove a protector) troweth he that I perceive not whereunto his painted process draweth? 'It is not honorable that the duke bide here; it were comfortable for them both that he were with his brother, because the king lacketh a playfellow, be ye sure.' I pray God send them both better playfellows than him, that maketh so high a matter upon such a trifling pretext. As though there could none be founden to play with the king, but if his brother, that hath no lust to play for sickness, come out of sanctuary, out of his safeguard, to play with him. As though princes as young as they be could not play but with their peers, or children could not play but with their kindred, with whom for the more part they agree much worse than with strangers. 'But the child cannot require the privilege.' Who told him so? He shall hear him ask it, and he will.

"Howbeit this is a gay matter. Suppose he could not ask it, suppose he would not ask it, suppose he would ask to go out; if I say he shall pot, if I ask the privilege but for myself, I say he that against my will taketh out him, breaketh the sanctuary. Serveth this liberty for my person only, or for my goods too? Ye may not hence take my horse from me; and may you take my child from me? He is also my ward; for, as my learned counsel showeth me, sith he

hath nothing by descent holden by knight's service, the law maketh his mother his guardian. Then may no man, I suppose, take my ward from me out of sanctuary, without the breach of the sanctuary. And if my privilege could not serve him, nor he ask it for himself, yet sith the law committeth to me the custody of him, I may require it for him, except the law give a child a guardian only for his goods and his lands, discharging him of the cure and safe keeping of his body, for which only both lands and goods serve. *[And if examples be sufficient to obtain privilege for my child, I need not far to seek. For in this place in which we now be (and which is now in question whether my child may take benefit of it) mine other son, now king, was born, and kept in his cradle, and preserved to a more prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as all you know, this is not the first time that I have taken sanctuary; for when my lord my husband was banished and thrust out of his kingdom, I fled hither being great with child, and here I bare the prince. And when my lord my husband returned safe again and had the victory, then went I hence to

* This that is here between this mark, [and this mark,] was not written by Master More in this history written by him in English, but is translated out of this history which he wrote in Latin.

welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe the prince unto his father, when he first took him in his arms. And I pray God that my son's palace may be as great safeguard to him, now reigning, as this place was sometime to the king's enemy. In which place I intend to keep his brother, sith, &c.]

“Wherefore here intend I to keep him, since man's law serveth the guardian to keep the infant. The law of nature will the mother keep her child. God's law privilegeth the sanctuary, and the sanctuary my son, sith I fear to put him in the protector's hands that hath his brother already, and were, if both failed, inheritor to the crown. The cause of my fear hath no man to do to examine. And yet fear I no further than the law feareth, which, as learned men tell me, forbiddeth every man the custody of them, by whose death he may inherit less land than a kingdom. I can no more; but whosoever he be that breaketh this holy sanctuary, I pray God shortly send him need of sanctuary, when he may not come to it. For taken out of sanctuary would I not my mortal enemy were.”

The lord cardinal perceiving that the queen waxed ever the longer the farther off, and also that she began to kindle and chafe, and speak sore biting words against the protector, and such as he neither believed, and was also loath

to hear, he said unto her for a final conclusion, that "he would no longer dispute the matter. But if she were content to deliver the duke to him and to the other lords there present, he durst lay his own body and soul both in pledge, not only for his surety, but also for his estate. And if she would give them a resolute answer to the contrary, he would forthwith depart therewithal, and shift whoso would with this business afterward. For he never intended more to move her in that matter, in which she thought that he and all other also, save herself, lacked either wit or truth; wit, if they were so dull, that they could nothing perceive what the protector intended; truth, if they should procure her son to be delivered into his hands, in whom they should perceive toward the child any evil intended."

The queen, with these words, stood a good while in a great study. And forasmuch her seemed the cardinal more ready to depart than some of the remnant, and the protector himself ready at hand, so that she verily thought she could not keep him there, but that he should incontinent be taken thence; and to convey him elsewhere, neither had she time to serve her, nor place determined, nor persons appointed; all thing unready, this message came on her so suddenly, nothing less looking for than to have him fet out of sanctuary, which she thought to

be now beset in such places about, that he could not be conveyed out untaken ; and partly as she thought it might fortune her fear to be false, so well she wist it was either needless or bootless : wherefore, if she should needs go from him, she dempt it best to deliver him. And over that, of the cardinal's faith she nothing doubted, nor of some other lords' neither, whom she there saw ; which as she feared lest they might be deceived, so was she well assured they would not be corrupted. Then, thought she, it should yet make them the more warily to look to him, and the more circumspectly to see to his surety, if she with her own hands betook him to them of trust. And at the last she took the young duke by the hand, and said unto the lords.

“ My lord, (quod she) and all my lords, I neither am so unwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths. Of which thing I purpose to make you such a proof, as if either of both lacked in you, might turn both me to great sorrow, the realm to much harm, and you to great reproach. For lo, here is (quod she) this gentleman, whom I doubt not but I could here keep safe if I would, whatsoever any man say. And I doubt not also but there be some abroad so deadly enemies unto my blood, that if they wist where any of it lay in their own body, they would let it out. We have also had experi-

ence that the desire of a kingdom knoweth no kindred. The brother hath been the brother's bane. And may the nephews be sure of their uncle? Each of these children is other's defence while they be asunder, and each of their lives lieth in the other's body. Keep one safe, and both be sure; and nothing for them both more perilous than to be both in one place. For what wise merchant adventureth all his good in one ship? All this notwithstanding, here I deliver him, and his brother in him, to keep into your hands, of whom I shall ask them both afore God and the world. Faithful ye be, that wot I well; and I know well you be wise. Power and strength to keep him, if ye list, neither lack ye of yourselves, nor can lack help in this cause. And if ye cannot elsewhere, then may you leave him here. But only one thing I beseech you, for the trust that his father put in you ever, and for the trust that I put in you now, that as far as ye think that I fear too much, be you well ware that you fear not as far too little." And therewithal she said unto the child, "Farewell, my own sweet son; God send you good keeping. Let me kiss you once yet ere you go, for God knoweth when we shall kiss together again." And therewith she kissed him, and blessed him, turned her back and wept, and went her way, leaving the child weeping as fast.

When the lord cardinal, and these other lords with him, had received this young duke, they brought him into the starchamber, where the protector took him in his arms and kissed him with these words, "Now welcome, my lord, even with all my very heart." And he said in that of likelihood as he thought. Thereupon forthwith they brought him to the king his brother into the bishop's palace at Paul's, and from thence through the city honorably into the Tower, out of which after that day they never came abroad.

* [When the protector had both the children in his hands, he opened himself more boldly, both to certain other men, and also chiefly to the duke of Buckingham; although I know that many thought that this duke was privy to all the protector's counsel, even from the beginning. And some of the protector's friends said, that the duke was the first mover of the protector to this matter, sending a privy messenger unto him, straight after king Edward's death. But other again, which knew better the subtle wit of the protector, deny that he ever opened his enterprise to the duke, until he had brought to pass the things before rehearsed. But when he had imprisoned the queen's kinsfolks, and gotten

* See the note on page 235.

both her sons into his own hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with less fear to them whom he thought meet for the matter, and specially to the duke; who being won to his purpose, he thought his strength more than half increased. The matter was broken unto the duke by subtle folks, and such as were their craftmasters in the handling of such wicked devices; who declared unto him, that "the young king was offended with him for his kinsfolks' sakes, and that if he were ever able, he would revenge them; who would prick him forward thereunto, if they escaped, (for they would remember their imprisonment,) or else if they were put to death, without doubt the young king would be careful for their deaths, whose imprisonment was grievous unto him. And that with repenting the duke should nothing avail, for there was no way left to redeem his offence by benefits; but he should sooner destroy himself than save the king, who with his brother and his kinsfolks he saw in such places imprisoned, as the protector might with a beck destroy them all; and that it were no doubt but he would do it indeed, if there were any new enterprise attempted. And that it was likely that as the protector had provided privy guard for himself, so had he spies for the duke, and trains to catch him, if he should be against him, and that peradventure

from them, whom he least suspected. For the state of things and the dispositions of men were then such, that a man could not well tell whom he might trust, or whom he might fear."

These things, and such like, being beaten into the duke's mind, brought him to that point, that where he had repented the way that he had entered, yet would he go forth in the same; and since he had once begun, he would stoutly go through. And therefore to this wicked enterprise, which he believed could not be voided, he bent himself and went through; and determined, that since the common mischief could not be amended, he would turn it as much as he might to his own commodity.

Then it was agreed, that the protector should have the duke's aid to make him king, and that the protector's only lawful son should marry the duke's daughter, and that the protector should grant him the quiet possession of the earldom of Hereford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could never obtain it in king Edward's time. Besides these requests of the duke, the protector of his own mind promised him a great quantity of the king's treasure and of his household stuff. And when they were thus at a point between themselves, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the young king, as they would have it seem. And that they might

turn both the eyes and minds of men from perceiving of their drifts other where, the lords being sent for from all parts of the realm, came thick to that solemnity.

But the protector and the duke, after that they had set the lord cardinal, the archbishop of York, then lord chancellor, the bishop of Ely, the lord Stanley, and the lord Hastings, then lord chamberlain, with many other noblemen, [to commune and devise about the coronation in one place, as fast were they in another place contriving the contrary, and to make the protector king. To which council, albeit there were adhibit very few, and they very secret, yet began there, here and there about, some manner of muttering among the people, as though all should not long be well, though they neither wist what they feared nor wherefore; were it that before such great things, men's hearts, of a secret instinct of nature, misgiveth them, as the sea without wind swelleth of himself sometime before a tempest; or were it that some one man, haply somewhat perceiving, filled many men with suspicion, though he showed few men what he knew. Howbeit, somewhat the dealing self made men to muse on the matter, though the council were close. For little and little, all folk withdrew from the Tower, and drew to Crosby's place, in Bishopsgate-street, where the protector

kept his household. The protector had the resort, the king in manner desolate. While some for their business made suit to them that had the doing, some were by their friends secretly warned, that it might haply turn them to no good, to be too much attendant about the king without the protector's appointment ; which removed also divers of the prince's old servants from him, and set new about him.

Thus many things coming together, partly by chance, partly of purpose, caused at length not common people only, that wave with the wind, but wise men also, and some lords eke, to mark the matter and muse thereon ; so far forth that the lord Stanley, that was after earl of Derby, wisely mistrusted it, and said unto the lord Hastings, that he much misliked these two several councils. " For while we (quod he) talk of one matter in the one place, little wot we whereof they talk in the tother place." " My lord, (quod the lord Hastings) on my life never doubt you, For while one man is there which is never thence, never can there be thing once minded that should sound amiss toward me, but it should be in mine ears ere it were well out of their mouths." This meant he by Catesby, which was of his near secret counsel, and whom he very familiarly used, and in his most weighty matters put no man in so special trust, reckoning him-

self to no man so lief, sith he well wist there was no man to him so much beholden as was this Catesby ; which was a man well learned in the laws of this land, and, by the special favor of the lord chamberlain, in good authority, and much rule bare in all the county of Leicester, where the lord chamberlain's power chiefly lay.

But surely great pity was it, that he had not had either more truth or less wit ; for his dissimulation only kept all that mischief up. In whom if the lord Hastings had not put so special trust, the lord Stanley and he had departed with divers other lords, and broken all the dance, for many ill signs that he saw, which he now construes all to the best. So surely thought he that there could be none harm toward him in that council intended where Catesby was. And of truth the protector and the duke of Buckingham made very good semblance unto the lord Hastings, and kept him much in company. And undoubtedly the protector loved him well, and loath was to have lost him, saving for fear lest his life should have quailed their purpose. For which cause he moved Catesby to prove with some words cast out afar off, whether he could think it possible to win the lord Hastings into their party. But Catesby, whether he assayed him or assayed him not, reported unto them that he found him so fast, and heard him speak so

terrible words, that he durst no further break. And of truth the lord chamberlain, of very trust, showed unto Catesby the mistrust that other began to have in the matter. And therefore he, fearing lest their motions might with the lord Hastings minish his credence, whereunto only all the matter leaned, procured the protector hastily to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death to obtain much of the rule that the lord Hastings bare in his country ; the only desire whereof was the allective that induced him to be partner and one special contriver of all this horrible treason.

Whereupon soon after, that is to wit, on the Friday, the [thirteenth] day of [June] many lords assembled in the Tower, and there sat in council, devising the honorable solemnity of the king's coronation ; of which the time appointed then so near approached, that the pageants and subtleties were in making day and night at Westminster, and much victual killed therefore, that afterward was cast away. These lords so sitting together communing of this matter, the protector came in among them, first about nine of the clock, saluting them courteously, and excusing himself that he had been from them so long, saying merrily that he had been asleep that day. And after a little talking with them, he said unto the bishop of Ely, " My lord, you have very good

strawberries at your garden in Holborn ; I require you let us have a mess of them." " Gladly, my lord, (quod he,) would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that." And therewith in all the haste he sent his servant for a mess of strawberries. The protector set the lords fast in communing, and thereupon praying them to spare him for a little while, departed thence. And soon after one hour, between ten and eleven, he returned into the chamber among them, all changed with a wonderful sour, angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and frotting, and gnawing on his lips, and so sat him down in his place ; all the lords much dismayed and sore marvelling of this manner of sudden change, and what thing should him ail.

Then when he had sitten still awhile, thus he began : " What were they worthy to have, that compass and imagine the destruction of me, being so near of blood unto the king, and protector of his royal person and his realm ? " At this question, all the lords sat sore astonished, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which every man wist himself clear. Then the lord chamberlain, as he that for the love between them thought that he might be the boldest with him, answered and said, " that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoever they were." And all the other affirmed

the same. "That is (quod he) yonder sorceress, my brother's wife, and other with her," (meaning the queen.) At these words many of the other lords were greatly abashed that favored her. But the lord Hastings was in his mind better content that it was moved by her, than by any other whom he loved better; albeit his heart somewhat grudged that he was not afore made of counsel in this matter, as he was of the taking of her kindred, and of their putting to death; which were, by his assent before, devised to be beheaded at Pomfret this self same day, in which he was not ware that it was by other devised that himself should the same day be beheaded at London.

Then said the protector, "Ye shall all see in what wise that sorceress, and that other witch of her counsel, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body." And therewith he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, where he showed a weerish, withered arm, and small, as it was never other. And thereupon every man's mind sore misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrel. For well they wist, that the queen was too wise to go about any such folly. And also if she would, yet would she of all folk least make Shore's wife of counsel, whom of all women she most hated,

as that concubine whom the king her husband had most loved. And also no man was there present, but well knew that his harm was ever such since his birth. Nathless, the lord chamberlain (which, from the death of king Edward, kept Shore's wife, on whom he somewhat doted in the king's life, saving, as it is said, he that while forbare her of reverence toward his king, or else of a certain kind of fidelity to his friend) answered and said, "Certainly, my lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment." "What! (quod the protector) thou servest me, I ween, with ifs and with ands; I tell thee they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor." And therewith, as in a great anger, he clapped his fist upon the board a great rap. At which token given, one cried treason without the chamber. Therewith a door clapped, and in come there rushing men in harness as many as the chamber might hold. And anon the protector said to the lord Hastings; "I arrest thee, traitor." "What! me, my lord?" quod he. "Yea, thee, traitor," quod the protector. And another let flee at the lord Stanley, which shrunk at the stroke, and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth; for as shortly as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his ears. Then were they all quickly bestowed in divers chambers, except the lord cham-

berlain, whom the protector bade speed and shrive him apace, "for by Saint Paul (*quod he*) I will not to dinner till I see thy head off." It booted him not to ask why, but heavily he took a priest at adventure, and made a short shrift; for a longer would not be suffered, the protector made so much haste to dinner, which he might not go to till this were done, for saving of his oath. So was he brought forth into the green beside the chapel within the Tower, and his head laid down upon a long log of timber, and there stricken off, and afterward his body with the head interred at Windsor, beside the body of king Edward, whose both souls our lord pardon.

A marvellous case it is to hear, either the warnings of that he should have voided, or the tokens of that he could not void. For the self night next before his death, the lord Stanley sent a trusty secret messenger unto him at midnight, in all the haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him, for he was disposed utterly no longer to bide; he had so fearful a dream, in which him thought that a boar with his tusks so rased them both by the heads, that the blood ran about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the protector gave the boar for his cognizance, this dream made so fearful an impression in his heart, that he was thoroughly determined no longer to tarry, but had his horse ready, if the

lord Hastings would go with him, to ride so far yet the same night, that they should be out of danger ere day. "Eh? good Lord!" quod the lord Hastings to this messenger, "leaneth my lord thy master so much to such trifles, and hath such faith in dreams, which either his own fear fantasieth, or do rise in the night's rest by reason of his day thoughts? Tell him it is plain witchcraft to believe in such dreams; which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not that we might be as likely to make them true by our going, if we were caught and brought back? (as friends fail fleers.) For then had the boar a cause likely to rase us with his tusks, as folk that fled for some falsehood. Wherefore, either is there no peril, nor none there is indeed; or if any be, it is rather in going than biding. And if we should needs cost fall in peril one way or other, yet had I liefer the men should see it were by other men's falsehood, than think it were either our own fault or faint heart. And therefore, go to thy master, man, and commend me to him, and pray him be merry, and have no fear; for I ensure him I am as sure of the man that he wotteth of, as I am of my own hand." "God send grace, sir," quod the messenger, and went his way.

Certain it is also, that in the riding toward the Tower, the same morning in which he was be-

headed, his horse twice or thrice stumbled with him almost to the falling; which thing albeit each man wot well daily happeneth to them to whom no such mischance is toward, yet hath it been of an old rite and custom, observed as a token oftentimes notably foregoing some great misfortune. Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enemieous scorn. The same morning, ere he were up, came a knight unto him, as it were of courtesy, to accompany him to the council, but of truth sent by the protector to haste him thitherward, with whom he was of secret confederacy in that purpose, a mean man at that time, and now of great authority. This knight, when it happed the lord chamberlain by the way to stay his horse, and commune awhile with a priest whom he met in the Tower-street, brake his tale, and said merrily to him, "What! my lord, I pray you come on; whereto talk you so long with that priest? You have no need of a priest yet;" and therewith he laughed upon him as though he would say, "ye shall have soon." But so little wist the tother what he meant, and so little mistrusted, that he was never merrier nor never so full of good hope in his life; which self thing is often seen a sign of change. But I shall rather let any thing pass me, than the vain surety of man's mind so near his death.

Upon the very Tower wharf, so near the place where his head was off so soon after, there met he with one Hastings, a pursuivant, of his own name. And at their meeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to meet in like manner together in the same place. At which other time the lord chamberlain had been accused unto king Edward, by the lord Rivers, the queen's brother, in such wise that he was for the while (but it lasted not long) far fallen into the king's indignation, and stood in great fear of himself. And forasmuch as he now met this pursuivant in the same place, that jubardy so well passed, it gave him great pleasure to talk with him thereof, with whom he had before talked thereof in the same place while he was therein. And therefore he said, "Ah! Hastings, art thou remembered when I met thee here once with a heavy heart?" "Yea, my lord, (quod he) that remember I well; and thanked be God they gat no good, nor ye none harm thereby." "Thou wouldest say so," quod he, "if thou knewest as much as I know, which few know else as yet, and mo shall shortly." That meant he by the lords of the queen's kindred that were taken before, and should that day be beheaded at Pomfret; which he well wist, but nothing ware that the axe hang over his own head. "In faith,

man," quod he, "I was never so sorry, nor never stood in so great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo! how the world is turned. Now stand mine enemies in the danger (as thou mayest hap to hear more hereafter) and I never in my life so merry, nor never in so great surety." O! good God! the blindness of our mortal nature! When he most feared, he was in good surety; when he reckoned himself surest, he lost his life, and that within two hours after.

Thus ended this honorable man, a good knight and a gentle, of great authority with his prince, of living somewhat dissolute; plain and open to his enemy, and secret to his friend; ethe to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage fore-studied no perils; a loving man and passing well beloved; very faithful, and trusty enough, trusting too much. Now flew the fame of this lord's death swiftly through the city, and so forth farther about like a wind in every man's ear.

But the protector, immediately after dinner, intending to set some color upon the matter, sent in all the haste for many substantial men out of the city into the Tower. And at their coming, himself with the duke of Buckingham stood harnessed in old ill-faring briganders, such as no man should ween that they would vouchsafe to have put upon their backs, except that some sudden necessity had constrained them. And then

the protector showed them that the lord chamberlain, and other of his conspiracy, had contrived to have suddenly destroyed him and the duke there the same day in the council. And what they intended further, was as yet not well known. Of which their treason he never had knowledge before ten of the clock the same forenoon. Which sudden fear drave them to put on for their defence such harness as came next to hand. And so had God holpen them, that the mischief turned upon them that would have done it. And this he required them to report. Every man answered him fair, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man believed.

Yet for the further appeasing of the people's mind, he sent immediately after dinner, in all the haste, one herald of arms, with a proclamation to be made through the city in the king's name, containing that the lord Hastings, with divers other of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired the same day to have slain the lord protector and the duke of Buckingham, sitting in the council, and after to have taken upon them to rule the king and the realm at their pleasure, and thereby to pill and spoil whom they list, uncontrolled. And much matter was there in the proclamation devised, to the slander of the lord chamberlain; as that he was an evil counsellor to

the king's father, enticing him to many things highly redounding to the minishing of his honor, and to the universal hurt of his realm, by his evil company, sinister procuring, and ungracious ensample; as well in many other things, as in the vicious living and inordinate abusion of his body, both with many other, and also specially with Shore's wife; which was one also of his most secret counsel of this heinous treason, with whom he lay nightly, and namely the night last passed next before his death. So that it was the less marvel, if ungracious living brought him to an unhappy ending; which he was now put unto, by the most dread commandment of the king's highness, and of his honorable and faithful council, both for his demerits, being so openly taken in his falsely conceived treason, and also lest the delaying of his execution might have encouraged other mischievous persons, partners of his conspiracy, to gather and assemble themselves together in making some great commotion for his deliverance; whose hope now being by his well deserved death politicly repressed, all the realm should, by God's grace, rest in good quiet and peace.

Now was this proclamation made within two hours after that he was beheaded; and it was so curiously indited, and so fair written in parchment, in so well a set hand, and therewith of

itself so long a process, that every child might well perceive that it was prepared before. For all the time between his death and the proclaiming could scant have sufficed unto the bare writing alone, all had it been but in paper, and scribbled forth in haste at adventure. So that upon the proclaiming thereof, one that was schoolmaster of Paul's, of chance standing by, and comparing the shortness of the time with the length of the matter, said unto them that stood about him, "Here is a gay, goodly cast, foul cast away for haste." And a merchant answered him, that "it was written by prophecy."

Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for covetise, the protector sent into the house of Shore's wife (for her husband dwelled not with her) and spoiled her of all that ever she had, above the value of two or three thousand marks, and sent her body to prison. And when he had awhile laid unto her, for the manner sake, that she went about to bewitch him, and that she was of counsel with the lord chamberlain to destroy him; in conclusion, when that no color could fasten upon these matters, then he laid heinously to her charge, the thing that herself could not deny, that all the world wist was true, and that, nathless, every man laughed at to hear it then so suddenly so highly taken, — that she was naught of her body. And for this cause (as a godly, continent prince,

clean and faultless of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world for the amendment of men's manners!) he caused the bishop of London to put her to open penance, going before the cross in procession upon a Sunday with a taper in her hand. In which she went in countenance and pace demure so womanly, and albeit she were out of all array, save her kirtle only, yet went she so fair and lovely, namely, while the wondering of the people cast a comely rud in her cheeks, (of which she before had most miss) that her great shame won her much praise, among those that were more amorous of her body than curious of her soul. And many good folk also, that hated her living, and glad were to see sin corrected, yet pitied they more her penance than rejoiced therein, when they considered that the protector procured it more of a corrupt intent than any virtuous affection.

This woman was born in London, worshipfully friended, honestly brought up, and very well married, saving somewhat too soon; her husband an honest citizen, young and godly, and of good substance. But forasmuch as they were coupled ere she were well ripe, she not very fervently loved, for whom she never longed; which was haply the thing that the more easily made her incline unto the king's appetite, when he required her. Howbeit, the respect of his royalty, the

hope of gay apparel, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth, was able soon to pierce a soft, tender heart. But when the king had abused her, anon her husband (as he was an honest man, and one that could his good, not presuming to touch a king's concubine) left her up to him altogether. When the king died, the lord chamberlain took her; which, in the king's days, albeit he was sore enamoured upon her, yet he forbore her, either for reverence, or for a certain friendly faithfulness.

Proper she was and fair; nothing in her body that you would have changed, but if you would have wished her somewhat higher. Thus say they that knew her in her youth. Albeit some that now see her (for yet she liveth) deem her never to have been well visaged. Whose judgment seemeth me somewhat like, as though men should guess the beauty of one long before departed, by her scalp taken out of the charnel-house; for now is she old, lean, withered, and dried up, nothing left but rivelled skin and hard bone. And yet being even such, whoso well advise her visage, might guess and devise which parts, how filled, would make it a fair face. Yet delighted not men so much in her beauty, as in her pleasant behaviour. For a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write; merry in company, ready and quick of answer, neither

mute nor full of babble, sometime taunting without displeasure, and not without disport. The king would say that he had three concubines, which in three diverse properties diversly excelled; one the merriest, another the wiliest, the third the holiest harlot in his realm, as one whom no man could get out of the church lightly to any place, but it were to his bed.

The other two were somewhat greater personages, and nathless of their humility content to be nameless, and to forbear the praise of those properties. But the merriest was this Shore's wife, in whom the king therefore took special pleasure. For many he had, but her he loved; whose favor, to say the truth, (for sin it were to belie the devil) she never abused to any man's hurt, but to many a man's comfort and relief. Where the king took displeasure, she would mitigate and appease his mind. Where men were out of favor, she would bring them in his grace. For many that had highly offended, she obtained pardon. Of great forfeitures she gat men remission. And finally, in many weighty suits she stood many men in great stead, either for none, or very small rewards, and those rather gay than rich; either for that she was content with the deed self well done; or for that she delighted to be sued unto, and to show what she was able to do with the king; or for that wanton women and wealthy be not alway covetous.

I doubt not some shall think this woman too slight a thing to be written of, and set among the remembrances of great matters ; which they shall specially think, that haply shall esteem her only by that they now see her. But me seemeth the chance so much the more worthy to be remembered, in how much she is now in the more beggarly condition, unfriended and worn out of acquaintance, after good substance, after as great favor with the prince, after as great suit and seeking to with all those that those days had business to speed, as many other men were in their times, which be now famous only by the infamy of their ill deeds. Her doings were not much less, albeit they be much less remembered, because they were not so evil. For men use, if they have an evil turn, to write it in marble ; and whoso doth us a good turn, we write it in dust. Which is not worst proved by her ; for at this day she beggeth of many at this day living, that at this day had begged if she had not been.

Now was it so devised by the protector and his council, that the self day in which the lord chamberlain was beheaded in the Tower of London, and about the self same hour, was there, not without his assent, beheaded at Pomfret, the foreremembered lords and knights that were taken from the king at Northampton and Stony Stratford. Which thing was done in the pres-

ence and by the order of Sir Richard Ratcliffe, knight, whose service the protector specially used in the counsel and in the execution of such lawless enterprises, as a man that had been long secret with him, having experience of the world and a shrewd wit, short and rude in speech, rough and boustious of behaviour, bold in mischief, as far from pity as from all fear of God. This knight, bringing them out of the prison to the scaffold, and showing to the people about that they were traitors, not suffering them to speak and declare their innocence, lest their words might have inclined men to pity them, and to hate the protector and his part, caused them hastily, without judgment, process, or manner of order, to be beheaded, and without other earthly guilt, but only that they were good men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the queen.

Now when the lord chamberlain and these other lords and knights were thus beheaded and rid out of the way, then thought the protector, that while men mused what the matter meant, while the lords of the realm were about him, out of their own strengths, while no man wist what to think nor whom to trust, ere ever they should have space to dispute and digest the matter and make parties, it were best hastily to pursue his purpose, and put himself in possession of the crown, ere men could have time to devise any

ways to resist. But now was all the study, by what mean this matter, being of itself so heinous, might be first broken to the people, in such wise that it might be well taken. To this counsel they took divers, such as they thought meetly to be trusted, likely to be induced to the part, and able to stand them in stead, either by power or policy. Among whom they made of counsel Edmund Shaw, knight, then mayor of London, which, upon trust of his own advancement, whereof he was of a proud heart highly desirous, should frame the city to their appetite. Of spiritual men they took such as had wit, and were in authority among the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had they John Shaw, clerk, brother to the mayor, and friar Penker, provincial of the Augustine friars, both doctors of divinity, both great preachers, both of more learning than virtue, of more fame than learning. For they were before greatly esteemed among the people; but after that never. Of these two the tone had a sermon in praise of the protector before the coronation, the tother after, both so full of tedious flattery, that no man's ears could abide them. Penker in his sermon so lost his voice that he was fain to leave off and come down in the midst. Doctor Shaw by his sermon lost his honesty, and soon after his life, for very shame

of the world, into which he durst never after come abroad. But the friar forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the less. Howbeit, some doubt and many thinken, that Penker was not of counsel of the matter before the coronation, but, after the common manner, fell to flattery after; namely sith his sermon was not incontinent upon it, but as Saint Mary hospital at the Easter after. But certain is it, that doctor Shaw was of counsel in the beginning, so far forth that they determined that he should first break the matter in a sermon at Paul's cross, in which he should, by the authority of his preaching, incline the people to the protector's ghostly purpose.

But now was all the labor and study in the device of some convenient pretext, for which the people should be content to depose the prince, and accept the protector for king. In which divers things they devised. But the chief thing, and the weighty of all that invention, rested in this, that they should allege bastardy, either in king Edward himself, or in his children, or both; so that he should seem disabled to inherit the crown by the duke of York, and the prince by him. To lay bastardy in king Edward, sounded openly to the rebuke of the protector's own mother, which was mother to them both; for in that point could be none other color, but to pretend that his own mother was one advouteress; which,

notwithstanding, to farther this purpose he letted not. But nathless, he would the point should be less and more favorably handled, not even fully plain and directly, but that the matter should be touched aslope craftily, as though men spared in the point to speak all the truth for fear of his displeasure. But the other point concerning the bastardy that they devised to surmise in king Edward's children, that would he should be openly declared, and enforced to the uttermost. The color and pretext whereof cannot be well perceived, but if we first repeat you some things long before done about king Edward's marriage.

After that king Edward the Fourth had deposed king Henry the Sixth, and was in peaceable possession of the realm, determining himself to marry, as it was requisite both for himself and for the realm; he sent over in embassiate the earl of Warwick, with other noblemen in his company, unto Spain, to entreat and conclude a marriage between king Edward and the king's daughter of Spain. In which thing the earl of Warwick found the parties so toward and willing, that he speedily, according to his instructions, without any difficulty, brought the matter to very good conclusion.

Now happed it that in the mean season, there came to make a suit by petition to the king, dame Elizabeth Gray, which was after his queen,

at that time a widow, born of noble blood, specially by her mother, which was duchess of Bedford ere she married the lord Woodville, her father. Howbeit, this dame Elizabeth herself, being in service with queen Margaret, wife unto king Henry the Sixth, was married unto one [John] Gray, a squire, whom king Henry made knight upon the field that he had on [Shrove Tuesday] at [St. Albans] against king Edward. And little while enjoyed he the knighthood, for he was at the same field slain. After which done, and the earl of Warwick being in his embassiate about the foreremembered marriage, this poor lady made humble suit unto the king, that she might be restored unto such small lands as her late husband had given her in jointure. Whom when the king beheld, and heard her speak, as she was both fair, of a good favor, moderate of stature, well made, and very wise, he not only pitied her, but also waxed enamoured on her; and taking her afterward secretly aside, began to enter in talking more familiarly. Whose appetite when she perceived, she virtuously denied him. But that did she so wisely, and with so good manner, and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched it. And finally, after many a meeting, much wooing, and many great promises, she well espied the king's affection toward her so greatly increased, that

she durst somewhat the more boldly say her mind, as to him whose heart she perceived more firmly set, than to fall off for a word. And in conclusion she showed him plain, that as she wist herself too simple to be his wife, so thought she herself too good to be his concubine. The king much marrelling of her constancy, as he that had not been wont elsewhere to be so stiffly said nay, so much esteemed her continence and chastity, that he set her virtue in the stead of possession and riches; and thus taking counsel of his desire, determined in all possible haste to marry her.

And after he was thus appointed, and had between them twain ensured her, then asked he counsel of his other friends, and that in such manner, as they might ethe perceive it booted not greatly to say nay. Notwithstanding, the duchess of York, his mother, was so sore moved therewith, that she dissuaded the marriage as much as she possibly might; alleging that "it was his honor, profit, and surety also, to marry in a noble progeny out of his realm, whereupon depended great strength to his estate by the affinity, and great possibility of increase of his possessions. And that he could not well otherwise do, standing that the earl of Warwick had so far moved already; which were not likely to take it well if all his voyage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointments deluded. And she said also

that it was not princely to marry his own subject, no great occasion leading thereunto, no possessions or other commodities depending thereupon; but only as it were a rich man that would marry his maid, only for a little wanton dotage upon her person. In which marriage many more commend the maiden's fortune than the master's wisdom. And yet therein she said was more honesty, than honor in this marriage. Forasmuch as there is between no merchant and his own maid so great difference, as between the king and this widow. In whose person albeit there was nothing to be misliked, yet was there, she said, nothing so excellent but that it might be founden in divers other, that were more meetly (quod she) for your estate; and maidens also; whereas the only widowhood of Elizabeth Gray, though she were in all other things convenient for you, should yet suffice, as me seemeth, to refrain you from her marriage; sith it is an unfitting thing, and a very blemish, and high disparagement to the sacred majesty of a prince, that ought as nigh to approach priesthood in cleanness as he doth in dignity, to be defouled with bigamy in his first marriage."

The king, when his mother had said, made her answer part in earnest, part in play merrily, as he that wist himself out of her rule. And albeit he would gladly that she should take it

well, yet was at a point in his own mind, took she it well or otherwise. Howbeit, somewhat to satisfy her he said, that "albeit marriage, being a spiritual thing, ought rather to be made for the respect of God, where his grace inclineth the parties to love together, as he trusted it was in his, than for the regard of any temporal advantage; yet nathless, him seemed that this marriage, even worldly considered, was not unprofitable. For he reckoned the amity of no earthly nation so necessary for him, as the friendship of his own; which he thought likely to bear him so much the more hearty favor, in that he disdained not to marry with one of his own land. And yet if outward alliance were thought so requisite, he would find the means to enter thereinto much better by other of his kin, where all the parties could be contented, than to marry himself whom he should haply never love, and, for the possibility of more possessions, lose the fruit and pleasure of this that he had already. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that ever he hath beside, if he be wived against his appetite. And I doubt not; quod he, but there be, as ye say, other that be in every point comparable with her. And therefore I let not them that like them to wed them. No more is it reason that it mislike any man, that I marry where it liketh me. And I am sure that my cousin of Warwick neither loveth me so

little, to grudge at that I love, nor is so unreasonable to look that I should, in choice of a wife, rather be ruled by his eye, than by mine own; as though I were a ward that were bound to marry by the appointment of a guardian. I would not be a king with that condition, to forbear mine own liberty in choice of my own marriage. As for possibility of more inheritance by new affinity in estrange lands, is often the occasion of more trouble than profit. And we have already title, by the means, to so much as sufficeth to get and keep well in one man's days. That she is a widow, and hath already children, by God's blessed lady, I am a bachelor and have some too; and so each of us hath a proof that neither of us is like to be barren. And therefore, madam, I pray you be content; I trust in God she shall bring forth a young prince that shall please you. And as for the bigamy, let the bishop hardly lay it in my way, when I come to take orders. For I understand it is forbidden a priest, but I never wist it yet that it was forbidden a prince."

The duchess with these words nothing appeased, and seeing the king so set thereon that she could not pull him back, so highly she disdained it, that under pretext of her duty to Godward, she devised to disturb this marriage, and rather to help that he should marry one dame

Elizabeth Lucy, whom the king had also not long before gotten with child. Wherefore the king's mother objected openly against his marriage, as it were in discharge of her conscience, that the king was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucy, and her husband before God. By reason of which words, such obstacle was made in the matter, that either the bishops durst not, or the king would not, proceed to the solemnization of this wedding, till these same were clearly purged, and the truth well and openly testified. Whereupon dame Elizabeth Lucy was sent for. And albeit that she was by the king's mother and many other put in good comfort, to affirm that she was ensured unto the king, yet when she was solemnly sworn to say the truth, she confessed that they were never ensured. Howbeit, she said his grace spake so loving words unto her, that she verily hoped he would have married her; and that if it had not been for such kind words, she would never have showed such kindness to him, to let him so kindly get her with child. This examination solemnly taken, when it was clearly perceived that there was none impediment, the king, with great feast and honorable solemnity, married dame Elizabeth Gray, and her crowned queen that was his enemy's wife, and many time had prayed full heartily for his loss; in which God loved her better, than to grant her her boon.

But when the earl of Warwick understood of this marriage, he took it so highly that his embassiate was deluded, that, for very anger and disdain, he at his return assembled a great puissance against the king, and came so fast upon him, or he could be able to resist, that he was fain to void the realm and flee into Holland for succor; where he remained for the space of two years, leaving his new wife in Westminster, in sanctuary, where she was delivered of Edward the prince, of whom we before have spoken. In which mean time the earl of Warwick took out of prison and set up again king Henry the Sixth, which was before by king Edward deposed, and that muchwhat by the power of the earl of Warwick; which was a wise man and a courageous warrior, and of such strength, what for his lands, his alliance, and favor with all the people, that he made kings and put down kings almost at his pleasure; and not impossible to have attained it himself, if he had not reckoned it a greater thing to make a king than to be a king. But nothing lasteth alway; for in conclusion king Edward returned, and with much less number than he had, at Barnet, on the Easter day field, slew the earl of Warwick, with many other great estates of that party, and so stably attained the crown again, that he peaceably enjoyed it until his dying day; and in such plight left it, that it could

not be lost but by the discord of his very friends, or falsehood of his feigned friends.

I have rehearsed this business about this marriage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better appear upon how slipper a ground the protector builded his color, by which he pretended king Edward's children to be bastards. But that invention, simple as it was, it liked them to whom it sufficed to have somewhat to say, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger proof than themselves list to make. Now then, as I began to show you, it was by the protector and his council concluded, that this doctor Shaw should, in a sermon at Paul's cross, signify to the people, that neither king Edward himself, nor the duke of Clarence, were lawfully begotten, nor were not the very children of the duke of York, but gotten unlawfully by other persons by the advoutry of the duchess their mother; and that also dame Elizabeth Lucy was verily the wife of king Edward; and so the prince and all his children bastards, that were gotten upon the queen.

According to this device, doctor Shaw, the Sunday after, at Paul's cross, in a great audience (as alway assembled great number to his preaching) he took for his theme "*Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas*;" that is to say, "Bastard slips shall never take deep root." Thereupon, when

he had showed the great grace that God giveth and secretly infoundeth in right generation after the laws of matrimony, then declared he that commonly those children lacked that grace, and for the punishment of their parents were for the more part unhappy, which were gotten in haste, and specially in advourty. Of which though some, by the ignorance of the world and the truth hid from knowledge, inherited for the season other men's lands, yet God alway so provideth, that it continueth not in their blood long; but the truth coming to light, the rightful inheritors be restored, and the bastard slip pulled up, ere it can be rooted deep. And when he had laid for the proof and confirmation of this sentence, certain ensamples taken out of the Old Testament and other ancient histories, then began he to descend into the praise of the lord Richard, late duke of York, calling him father to the lord protector, and declared the title of his heirs unto the crown, to whom it was after the death of king Henry the Sixth entailed by authority of parliament. Then showed he that his very right heir of his body lawfully begotten, was only the lord protector. For he declared then, that king Edward was never lawfully married unto the queen, but was, before God, husband unto dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children bastards. And besides that, neither king

Edward himself, nor the duke of Clarence, among those that were secret in the household, were reckoned very surely for the children of the noble duke, as those that by their favors more resembled other known men than him. From whose virtuous conditions he said also that king Edward was far off. "But the lord protector, he said, that very noble prince, that special pattern of knightly prowess, as well in all princely behaviour as in the lineaments and favor of his visage, represented the very face of the noble duke his father. This is, quod he, the father's own figure, this is his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure undoubted image, the plain express likeness of that noble duke."

Now was it before devised, that in the speaking of these words, the protector should have comen in among the people to the sermonward, to the end that those words meeting with his presence might have been taken among the hearers as though the holy ghost had put them in the preacher's mouth, and should have moved the people even there, to cry "King Richard! king Richard!" that it might have been after said, that he was specially chosen by God, and in manner by miracle. But this device quailed, either by the protector's negligence, or the preacher's overmuch diligence. For while the protector found by the way tarrying lest he should

prevent those words, and the doctor, fearing that he should come ere his sermon could come to those words, hasted his matter thereto, he was come to them and passed them, and entered into other matters ere the protector came. Whom when he beheld coming, he suddenly left the matter with which he was in hand, and without any deduction thereunto, out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repeat those words again, "This is the very noble prince, the special patron of knightly prowess, which as well in all princely behaviour, as in the lineaments and favor of his visage, representeth the very face of the noble duke of York, his father. This is the father's own figure, this is his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure undoubted image, the plain express likeness of the noble duke, whose remembrance can never die while he liveth."

While these words were in speaking, the protector, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctors commonly stand in the upper story, where he stood to hearken the sermon. But the people were so far from crying "King Richard!" that they stood as they had been turned into stones, for wonder of this shameful sermon. After which once ended, the preacher got him home, and never after durst look out for shame, but kept him out of sight like an owl.

And when he once asked one that had been his old friend, what the people talked of him, all were it that his own conscience well showed him that they talked no good, yet when the tother answered him that there was in every man's mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strake him to the heart, that within a few days after he withered and consumed away.

Then on the Tuesday following this sermon, there came unto the Guildhall, in London, the duke of Buckingham, accompanied with divers lords and knights, mo than haply knew the message that they brought. And there, in the east end of the hall, where the mayor keepeth the hustings, the mayor and all the aldermen being assembled about him, all the commons of the city gathered before them, after silence commanded upon great pain in the protector's name, the duke stood up, and (as he was neither unlearned, and of nature marvellously well spoken) he said unto the people with a clear and a loud voice in this manner of wise :

“ Friends, for the zeal and hearty favor that we bear you, we be comen to break unto you of a matter right great and weighty ; and no less weighty than pleasing to God, and profitable to all the realm ; nor to no part of the realm more profitable than to you, the citizens of this noble city. For why ? That thing that

we wot well ye have long time lacked and sore longed for, that ye would have given great good for, that ye would have gone far to fetch, that thing we be come hither to bring you, without your labor, pain, cost, adventure, or jeopardy. What thing is that? Certes, the surety of your own bodies, the quiet of your wives and your daughters, the safeguard of your goods; of all which things in times past ye stood ever more in doubt. For who was there of you all, that would reckon himself lord of his own good, among so many gins and traps as was set therefore, among so much pilling and polling, among so many taxes and tallages, of which there was never end, and oftentime no need? or if any were, it rather grew of riot and unreasonable waste, than any necessary or honorable charge. So that there was daily pilled from good men and honest, great substance of goods, to be lashed out among unthrifis; so far forth the fifteenths sufficed not, nor any usual names of known taxes; but under an easy name of benevolence and good will, the commissioners so much of every man took, as no man would with his good will have given. As though the name of benevolence had signified that every man should pay, not what himself of his good will list to grant, but what the king of his good will list to take. Which never asked little, but every

thing was hawsed above the measure ; amerce-ments turned into fines, fines into ransoms, small trespass to misprision, misprision into treason. Whereof I think no man looketh that we should remember you of examples by name ; as though Burdet were forgotten, that was, for a word spoken in haste, cruelly beheaded, by the misconstruing of the laws of this realm, for the prince's pleasure ; with no less honor to Markham, then chief justice, that left his office rather than he would assent to that judgment, than to the dishonesty of those, that either for fear or flattery gave that judgment. What Coke, your own worshipful neighbour, alderman and mayor of this noble city, who is of you either so negligent that he knoweth not, or so forgetful that he remembereth not, or so hardhearted that he pitieth not, that worshipful man's loss ? What speak we of loss ? His utter spoil and undeserved destruction, only for that it happed those to favor him, whom the prince favored not.

“ We need not, I suppose, to rehearse of these any mo by name, sith there be, I doubt not, many here present, that either in themselves or their nigh friends, have known as well their goods as their persons greatly endangered, either by feigned quarrels, or small matters aggrieved with heinous names. And also there was no crime so great, of which there could lack a pretext. For

sith the king, preventing the time of his inheritance, attained the crown by battle, it sufficed in a rich man, for a pretext of treason, to have been of kindred or alliance, near familiarity or leger acquaintance with any of those that were at any time the king's enemies, which was at one time and other, more than half the realm. Thus were neither your goods in surety, and yet they brought your bodies in jeopardy, beside the common adventure of open war; which albeit that it is ever the will and occasion of much mischief, yet is it never so mischievous as where any people fall at distance among themselves, nor in none earthly nation so deadly and so pestilent, as when it happeneth among us; and among us never so long continued dissension, nor so many battles in the season, nor so cruel and so deadly foughten, as was in the king's days that dead is; God forgive it his soul. In whose time, and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the garland, keeping it, lesing and winning again, it hath cost more English blood than hath twice the winning of France. In which inward war among ourselves, hath been so great effusion of the ancient noble blood of this realm, that scarcely the half remaineth, to the great enfeebling of this noble land, beside many a good town ransacked and spoiled by them that have been going to the field or coming from thence. And

peace long after not much surer than war. So that no time was there, in which rich men for their money, and great men for their lands, or some other for some fear or some displeasure, were not out of peril. For whom trusted he that mistrusted his own brother? Whom spared he that killed his own brother? Or who could partly love him, if his own brother could not?

“What manner of folk he most favored, we shall for his honor spare to speak of. Howbeit, this wot you well all, that whoso was best bare away least rule; and more suit was in his days unto Shore's wife, a vile and an abominable strumpet, than to all the lords in England, except unto those that made her their proctor; which simple woman was well named and honest, till the king, for his wanton lust and sinful affection, bereft her from her husband, a right honest, substantial young man among you. And in that point, which in good faith I am sorry to speak of, saving that it is in vain to keep in counsel that thing that all men know, the king's greedy appetite was insatiable, and every where over all the realm intolerable. For no woman was there any where, young or old, rich or poor, whom he set his eye upon, in whom he any thing liked, either person or favor, speech, pace, or countenance, but without any fear of God, or respect of his honor, murmur or grudge of the world, he

would importunely pursue his appetite, and have her, to the great destruction of many a good woman, and great dolor to their husbands, and their other friends; which being honest people of themselves, so much regard the cleanness of their house, the chastity of their wives and their children, that them were liefer to lese all that they have beside, than to have such a villany done them.

“ And all were it that with this and other importable dealing, the realm was in every part annoyed, yet specially ye here, the citizens of this noble city, as well for that among you is most plenty of all such things as minister matter to such injuries, as for that you were nearest at hand, sith that near here about was commonly his most abiding. And yet be ye the people whom he had as singular cause well and kindly to entreat, as any part of his realm; not only for that the prince by this noble city, as his special chamber and the special well renowned city of his realm, much honorable fame receiveth among all other nations; but also for that ye, not without your great cost and sundry perils and jeopardies in all his wars, bare ever your special favor to his part, which your kind minds bore to the house of York. Sith he hath nothing worthily acquitted, there is of that house that now by God’s grace better shall; which thing to show you is the whole sum and effect of this our present errand.

"It shall not, I wot well, need that I rehearse you again that ye have already heard, of him that can better tell it, and of whom I am sure ye will better believe it. And reason is that it so be. I am not so proud to look therefore, that ye should reckon my words of as great authority as the preacher's of the word of God, namely a man so cunning and so wise, that no man better wotteth what he should say, and thereto so good and virtuous, that he would not say the thing which he wist he should not say, in the pulpit namely, into which none honest man cometh to lie; which honorable preacher, ye well remember, substantially declared unto you at Paul's cross on Sunday last passed, the right and title that the most excellent prince, Richard duke of Gloucester, now protector of this realm, hath unto the crown and kingdom of the same. For, as the worshipful man groundly made open unto you, the children of king Edward the Fourth were never lawfully begotten, forasmuch as the king (living his very wife, dame Elizabeth Lucy) was never lawfully married unto the queen their mother; whose blood, saving that he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honor, was full unmeetly to be matched with his; and the mingling of whose bloods together hath been the effusion of great part of the noble blood of this realm. Whereby it may well seem the marriage not well made, of which

there is so much mischief grown. For lack of which lawful accoupling, and also of other things, which the said worshipful doctor rather signified than fully explained, and which things shall not be spoken for me, as the thing wherein every man forbearcth to say that he knoweth, in avoiding displeasure of my noble lord protector, bearing, as nature requireth, a filial reverence to the duchess, his mother; for these causes, I say, before remembered, that is to wit, for lack of other issue lawfully coming of the late noble prince Richard duke of York, to whose royal blood the crown of England and of France is by the high authority of parliament entailed, the right and title of the same is, by the just course of inheritance according to the common law of this land, devolute and comen unto the most excellent prince the lord protector, as to the very lawfully begotten son of the foreremembered noble duke of York.

“ Which thing well considered, and the great knightly prowess pondered, with manifold virtues which in his noble person singularly abound, the nobles and commons also of this realm, and specially of the north parts, not willing any bastard blood to have the rule of the land, nor the abusions before in the same used any longer to continue, have condescended and fully determined to make humble petition unto the most

puissant prince, the lord protector, that it may like his grace, at our humble request, to take upon him the guiding and governance of this realm, to the wealth and increase of the same, according to his very right and just title. Which thing I wot it well he will be loath to take upon him, as he whose wisdom well perceiveth the labor and study both of mind and of body that shall come therewith, to whomsoever so well occupy the room, as I dare say he will, if he take it. Which room I warn you well is no child's office. And that the great wise man well perceived, when he said, 'Væ regno cujus rex puer est.' Wo is that realm, that hath a child to their king.

"Wherefore so much the more cause have we to thank God, that this noble personage, which is so righteously entitled thereunto, is of so sad age, and thereto of so great wisdom joined with so great experience. Which albeit he will be loath, as I have said, to take upon him, yet shall he to our petition in that behalf the more graciously incline, if ye, the worshipful citizens of this the chief city of this realm, join with us the nobles in our said request. Which for your own weal we doubt not but ye will; and nathless I heartily pray you so to do; whereby you shall do great profit to all this realm beside, in choosing them so good a king, and unto yourselves special commodi-

ty ; to whom his majesty shall ever after bear so much the more tender favor, in how much he shall perceive you the more prone and benevolently minded toward his election. Wherein, dear friends, what mind you have, we require you plainly to show us."

When the duke had said, and looked that the people, whom he hoped that the mayor had framed before, should after this proposition made, have cried "King Richard! king Richard!" all was hushed and mute, and not one word answered thereunto. Wherewith the duke was marvelously abashed, and taking the mayor nearer to him, with other that were about him privy to that matter, said unto them softly, "What meaneth this, that this people be so still?" "Sir," quod the mayor, "percase they perceive you not well." "That shall we mend (quod he) if that will help." And by and by, somewhat louder, he rehearsed the same matter again, in other order and other words, so well and ornatly, and nathless, so evidently and plain, with voice, gesture and countenance so comely and so convenient, that every man much marvelled that heard him, and thought that they never had in their lives heard so evil a tale so well told. But were it for wonder or fear, or that each looked that other should speak first, not one word was there answered of all the people that stood before ; but

all was as still as the midnight, not so much as rowning among them, by which they might seem to commune what was best to do.

When the mayor saw this, he with other partners of that counsel, drew about the duke, and said that "the people had not been accustomed there to be spoken unto but by the recorder, which is the mouth of the city, and haply to him they will answer." With that the recorder, called Fitzwilliam, a sad man and an honest, which was so new come into that office that he never had spoken to the people before, and loath was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding thereunto commanded by the mayor, made rehearsal to the commons of that the duke had twice rehearsed them himself. But the recorder so tempered his tale, that he showed every thing as the duke's words, and no part his own. But all this nothing no change made in the people, which alway after one, stood as they had been amazed. Whereupon the duke rowned unto the mayor and said, "This is a marvellous obstinate silence;" and therewith he turned unto the people again with these words, "Dear friends, we come to move you to that thing which peradventure we not so greatly needed, but that the lords of this realm and the commons of other parts might have sufficed; saving that we such love bear you, and so much set by you, that we would

not gladly do without you that thing, in which to be partners is your weal and honor, which, as it seemeth, either you see not or weigh not. Wherefore we require you give us answer one or other, whether you be minded, as all the nobles of the realm be, to have this noble prince, now protector, to be your king or not."

At these words the people began to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voice was neither loud nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarm of bees, till at the last, in the nether end of the hall, a bushment of the duke's servants, and Nashfields and other longing to the protector, with some prentices and lads that thrust into the hall among the press, began suddenly at men's backs to cry out as loud as their throats would give, "King Richard! king Richard!" and threw up their caps in token of joy. And they that stood before, cast back their heads, marvelling thereof, but nothing they said. And when the duke and the mayor saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly cry, and a joyful to hear, every man with one voice, no man saying nay. "Wherefore, friends," quod the duke, "since that we perceive it is all your whole minds to have this noble man for your king, whereof we shall make his grace so effectual report, that we doubt not but it shall redound unto your great weal and com-

modity, we require ye that ye tomorrow go with us and we with you unto his noble grace, to make our humble request unto him in manner before remembered." And therewith the lords came down, and the company dissolved and departed, the more part all sad, some with glad semblance that were not very merry, and some of those that came thither with the duke, not able to dissemble their sorrow, were fain at his back to turn their face to the wall, while the dolor of their heart brast out at their eyen.

Then on the morrow after, the mayor, with all the aldermen and chief commoners of the city, in their best manner apparelled, assembling themselves together resorted unto Baynard's castle, where the protector lay. To which place repaired also, according to their appointment, the duke of Buckingham, with divers noblemen with him, beside many knights and other gentlemen. And thereupon the duke sent word unto the lord protector, of the being there of a great and honorable company, to move a great matter unto his grace. Whereupon the protector made difficulty to come out unto them, but if he first knew some part of their errand; as though he doubted and partly distrusted the coming of such number unto him so suddenly, without any warning or knowledge, whether they came for good or harm. Then the duke, when he had showed

this unto the mayor and other, that they might thereby see how little the protector looked for this matter, they sent unto him by the messenger such loving message again, and therewith so humbly besought him to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence, to purpose their intent, of which they would unto none other person any part disclose, that at the last he came forth of his chamber, and yet not down unto them, but stood above in a gallery over them, where they might see him and speak to him, as though he would not yet come too near them till he wist what they meant. And thereupon the duke of Buckingham first made humble petition unto him, on the behalf of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and license them to purpose unto his grace the intent of their coming, without his displeasure ; without which pardon obtained, they durst not be bold to move him of that matter. In which albeit they meant as much honor to his grace as wealth to all the realm beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whom they would in no wise offend.

Then the protector, as he was very gentle of himself, and also longed sore to wit what they meant, gave him leave to purpose what him liked, verily trusting, for the good mind that he bare them all, none of them any thing would intend unto himward, wherewith he ought to be grieved.

When the duke had this leave and pardon to speak, then waxed he bold to show him their intent and purpose, with all the causes moving them thereunto, as ye before have heard; and finally to beseech his grace, that it would like him, of his accustomed goodness and zeal unto the realm, now with his eye of pity to behold the long continued distress and decay of the same, and to set his gracious hands to the redress and amendment thereof, by taking upon him the crown and governance of this realm, according to his right and title lawfully descended unto him, and to the laud of God, profit of the land, and unto his grace so much the more honor and less pain, in that that never prince reigned upon any people, that were so glad to live under his obeisance, as the people of this realm under his.

When the protector had heard the proposition, he looked very strangely thereat, and answered, that "all were it that he partly knew the things by them alleged to be true, yet such entire love he bare unto king Edward and his children, that so much more regarded his honor in other realms about, than the crown of any one, of which he was never desirous, that he could not find in his heart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other nations where the truth were not well known, it should peradventure be thought, that it were his own ambitious mind

and device, to depose the prince and take himself the crown. With which infamy he would not have his honor stained for any crown; in which he had ever perceived much more labor and pain, than pleasure to him that would so use it, as he that would not were not worthy to have it. Notwithstanding, he not only pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the love and hearty favor they bare him, praying them for his sake to give and bear the same to the prince, under whom he was and would be content to live, and with his labor and counsel, as far as should like the king to use him, he would do his uttermost devoir to set the realm in good state. Which was already in this little while of his protectorship (the praise given to God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to be, were now, partly by good policy, partly more by God's special providence than man's provision, repressed."

Upon this answer given, the duke, by the protector's license, a little rownded, as well with other noblemen about him, as with the mayor and recorder of London. And after that, upon like pardon desired and obtained, he showed aloud unto the protector, that for a final conclusion, that the realm was appointed king Edward's line should not any longer reign upon them, both for

that they had so far gone, that it was now no surety to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weal universal to take that way, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore if it would like his grace to take the crown upon him, they would humbly beseech him thereunto. If he would give them a resolute answer to the contrary, which they would be loath to hear, then must they needs seek and should not fail to find some other nobleman that would. These words much moved the protector, which else, as every man may wit, would never of likelihood have inclined thereunto. But when he saw there was none other way, but that either he must take it, or else he and his both go from it, he said unto the lords and commons: " Sith we perceive well that all the realm is so set, whereof we be very sorry, that they will not suffer in any wise king Edward's line to govern them, whom no man earthly can govern against their wills, and we well also perceive, that no man is there, to whom the crown can by so just title appertain as to ourself, as very right heir lawfully begotten of the body of our most dear father, Richard late duke of York, to which title is now joined your election, the nobles and commons of this realm, which we of all titles possible take for most effectual; we be content and agree favorably to incline to your petition and request; and according to the

same, here we take upon us the royal estate, pre-eminence and kingdom of the two noble realms, England and France, the tone from this day forward by us and our heirs to rule, govern and defend, the tother, by God's grace and your good help, to get again and subdue, and establish forever in due obedience unto this realm of England, the advancement whereof we never ask of God longer to live than we intend to procure."

With this there was a great shout, crying "King Richard! king Richard!" And then the lords went up to the king (for so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking diversely of the matter, every man as his fantasy gave him. But much they talked and marvelled of the manner of this dealing, that the matter was on both parts made so strange, as though neither had ever communed with other thereof before; when that themselves well wist there was no man so dull that heard them, but he perceived well enough, that all the matter was made between them. Howbeit some excused that again, and said all must be done in good order though; and men must sometime, for the manner sake, not be a knowen what they know. For at the consecration of a bishop, every man wotteth well, by the paying for his bulls, that he purposeth to be one, and though he pay for nothing else; and yet must he be twice asked wheth-

er he will be bishop or no; and he must twice say nay, and at the third time take it, as compelled thereunto by his own will. And in a stageplay all the people know right well, that he that playeth the sowdan is percase a sowter. Yet if one should can so little good, to show out of season what acquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his own name while he standeth in his majesty, one of his tormentors might hap to break his head, and worthy, for marring of the play. And so they said that these matters be king's games, as it were stageplays, and for the more part played upon scaffolds; in which poor men be but the lookers on. And they that wise be, will meddle no farther; for they that sometime step up and play with them, when they cannot play their parts, they disorder the play, and do themselves no good.

*[The next day the protector with a great train went to Westminster-hall; and there, when he had placed himself in the court of the king's bench, declared to the audience that he would take upon him the crown in that place there, where the king himself sitteth and ministereth the law; because he considered that it was the chiefest duty of a king to minister the laws. Then with as pleasant an oration as he could, he

* See the note on page 153.

went about to win unto him the nobles, the merchants, the artificers, and in conclusion all kind of men, but specially the lawyers of this realm. And finally, to the intent that no man should hate him for fear, and that his deceitful clemency might get him the good will of the people, when he had declared the discommodity of discord, and the commodities of concord and unity, he made an open proclamation, that he did put out of his mind all enmities, and that he there did openly pardon all offences committed against him. And to the intent that he might show a proof thereof, he commanded that one Fogge, whom he had long deadly hated, should be brought then before him. Who being brought out of the sanctuary by, (for thither had he fled, for fear of him,) in the sight of the people, he took him by the hand. Which thing the common people rejoiced at and praised; but wise men took it for a vanity. In his return homeward, whomsoever he met he saluted; for a mind that knoweth itself guilty, is in a manner dejected to a servile flattery.

When he had begun his reign the [nineteenth] day of June, after this mockish election, then was he crowned the *—— day of the same

* Grafton and Hall both say he was crowned on the sixth day of July.

month. And that solemnity was furnished, for the most part, with the self same provision that was appointed for the coronation of his nephew.]

Now fell there mischiefs thick. And as the thing evil gotten is never well kept, through all the time of his reign never ceased there cruel death and slaughter, till his own destruction ended it. But as he finished his time with the best death, and the most righteous, that is to wit, his own ; so began he with the most piteous and wicked, I mean the lamentable murder of his innocent nephews, the young king and his tender brother. Whose death and final infortune hath natless so far comen in question, that some remain yet in doubt whether they were in his days destroyed or no. Not for that only that Perkin Warbeck, by many folks' malice, and more folks' folly, so long space abusing the world, was, as well with princes as the poorer people, reputed and taken for the younger of those two ; but for that also that all things were in late days so covertly demeaned, one thing pretended and another meant, that there was nothing so plain and openly proved, but that yet, for the common custom of close and covert dealing, men had it ever inwardly suspect ; as many well counterfeited jewels make the true mistrusted. Howbeit concerning the opinion, with the occasions moving either party, we shall have place more at large to en-

treat, if we hereafter happen to write the time of the late noble prince of famous memory, king Henry the Seventh, or percase that history of Perkin in any compendious process by itself. But in the mean time, for this present matter, I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes, not after every way that I have heard, but after that way that I have so heard by such men and such means, as methinketh it were hard but it should be true.

King Richard, after his coronation, taking his way to Gloucester to visit in his new honor the town of which he bare the name of his old, devised, as he rode, to fulfil that thing which he before had intended. And forasmuch as his mind gave him, that his nephews living, men would not reckon that he could have right to the realm, he thought therefore without delay to rid them, as though the killing of his kinsmen could amend his cause, and make him a kindly king. Whereupon he sent one John Green, whom he specially trusted, unto Sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same Sir Robert should in any wise put the two children to death. This John Green did his errand unto Brakenbury, kneeling before our Lady in the Tower, who plainly answered that he would never put them to death, to die therefore ; with which answer

John Green returning recounted the same to king Richard at Warwick, yet in his way. Where-with he took such displeasure and thought, that the same night he said unto a secret page of his, "Ah! whom shall a man trust? Those that I have brought up myself, those that I had went would most surely serve me, even those fail me, and at my commandment will do nothing for me." "Sir," quod his page, "there lieth one on your pallet without, that I dare well say, to do your grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that he would refuse;" meaning this by Sir James Tyrrel, which was a man of right goodly personage, and for nature's gifts worthy to have served a much better prince, if he had well served God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will as he had strength and wit.

The man had a high heart, and sore longed upward, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered and kept under by the means of Sir Richard Ratcliffe and Sir William Catesby; which longing for no mo partners of the prince's favor, and namely not for him, whose pride they wist would bear no peer, kept him by secret drifts out of all secret trust. Which thing this page well had marked and known. Wherefore, this occasion offered, of very special friendship he took his time to put him forward, and by such wise do him good, that all the enemies he had,

except the devil, could never have done him so much hurt. For upon this page's words king Richard arose, (for this communication had he, sitting at the draught, a convenient carpet for such a counsel,) and came out into the pallet chamber, on which he found in bed Sir James and Sir Thomas Tyrrel, of person like and brethren of blood, but nothing of kin in conditions. Then said the king merrily to them, "What! sirs, be ye in bed so soon?" and calling up Sir James, brake to him secretly his mind in this mischievous matter. In which he found him nothing strange. Wherefore, on the morrow, he sent him to Brakenbury with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliver Sir James all the keys of the Tower for one night, to the end he might there accomplish the king's pleasure, in such thing as he had given him commandment. After which letter delivered and the keys received, Sir James appointed the night next ensuing to destroy them, devising before and preparing the means.

The prince, as soon as the protector left that name, and took himself as king, had it showed unto him, that he should not reign, but his uncle should have the crown. At which word the prince, sore abashed, began to sigh, and said, "Alas! I would my uncle would let me have my life yet, though I lese my kingdom." Then he that told him the tale, used him with good words,

and put him in the best comfort he could. But forthwith was the prince and his brother both shut up, and all other removed from them, only one, called black Will or William Slaughter, except, set to serve them and see them sure. After which time the prince never tied his points, nor ought rought of himself, but with that young babe his brother, lingered in thought and heaviness till this traitorous death delivered them of that wretchedness. For Sir James Tyrrel devised that they should be murdered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forrest, one of the four that kept them, a fellow fleshed in murther before time. To him he joined one John Dighton, his own horsekeeper, a big, broad, square, strong knave. Then all the other being removed from them, this Miles Forrest and John Dighton, about midnight (the seely children lying in their beds) came into the chamber, and suddenly lapped them up among the clothes, so bewrapped them and entangled them, keeping down by force the featherbed and pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while smored and stifled, their breath failing, they gave up to God their innocent souls into the joys of heaven, leaving to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed. Which after that the wretches perceived, first by the struggling with the pains of death, and after long lying still, to be thoroughly dead,

they laid their bodies naked out upon the bed, and fetched Sir James to see them. Which, upon the sight of them, caused those murtherers to bury them at the stair foot, meetly deep in the ground, under a great heap of stones.

Then rode Sir James in great haste to king Richard, and showed him all the manner of the murther, who gave him great thanks, and, as some say, there made him knight. But he allowed not, as I have heard, the burying in so vile a corner, saying that he would have them buried in a better place, because they were a king's sons. Lo! the honorable courage of a king! Whereupon they say that a priest of Sir Robert Brakenbury took up the bodies again, and secretly interred them in such place, as by the occasion of his death, which only knew it, could never since come to light. Very truth is it and well known, that at such time as Sir James Tyrrel was in the Tower, for treason committed against the most famous prince, king Henry the Seventh, both Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murther in manner above written; but whither the bodies were moved they could nothing tell.

And thus, as I have learned of them that much knew and little cause had to lie, were these two noble princes, these innocent, tender children, born of most royal blood, brought up in

great wealth, likely long to live to reign and rule in the realm, by traitorous tyranny taken, deprived of their estate, shortly shut up in prison, and privily slain and murdered, their bodies cast, God wot where, by the cruel ambition of their unnatural uncle and his despiteous tormentors. Which things on every part well pondered, God never gave this world a more notable example, neither in what unsurety standeth this worldly weal, or what mischief worketh the proud enterprise of a high heart, or finally what wretched end ensueth such despiteous cruelty. For first, to begin with the ministers, Miles Forrest at Saint Martin's piecemeal rotted away. Dighton indeed yet walketh on alive, in good possibility to be hanged ere he die. But Sir James Tyrrel died at Tower hill, beheaded for treason. King Richard himself, as ye shall hereafter hear, slain in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies' hands, harried on horseback dead, his hair in despite torn and togged like a cur dog. And the mischief that he took, within less than three years of the mischief that he did. And yet all the mean time, spent in much pain and trouble outward, much fear, anguish and sorrow within. For I have heard by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberers, that after this abominable deed done, he never had quiet in his mind, he never thought himself sure. Where

he went abroad, his eye whirled about, his body privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger, his countenance and manner like one alway ready to strike again; he took ill rest a nights, lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch, rather slumbered than slept, troubled with fearful dreams, suddenly sometime start up, leap out of his bed and run about the chamber; so was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed.

Now had he outward no long time in rest. For hereupon soon after began the conspiracy, or rather good confederation, between the duke of Buckingham and many other gentlemen against him. The occasion whereupon the king and the duke fell out, is of divers folk divers wise pretended. This duke, as I have for certain been informed, as soon as the duke of Gloucester, upon the death of king Edward, came to York, and there had solemn funeral service for king Edward, sent thither, in the most secret wise he could, one Persal, his trusty servant, who came to John Ward, a chamberer of like secret trust with the duke of Gloucester, desiring that in the most close and covert manner, he might be admitted to the presence and speech of his master. And the duke of Gloucester, advertised of his

desire, caused him in the dead of the night, after all other folk avoided, to be brought unto him in his secret chamber, where Persal, after his master's recommendation, showed him that he had secretly sent him to show him, that in this new world he would take such part as he would, and wait upon him with a thousand good fellows, if need were. The messenger, sent back with thanks, and some secret instruction of the protector's mind, yet met him again with farther message from the duke his master, within few days after at Nottingham, whither the protector from York with many gentlemen of the north country, to the number of six hundred horses, was comen on his way to London ward; and after secret meeting and communication had, eftsoons departed. Whereupon at Northampton the duke met with the protector himself, with three hundred horses, and from thence still continued partner of all his devices, till that after his coronation they departed, as it seemed very great friends, at Gloucester. From whence as soon as the duke came home, he so lightly turned from him and so highly conspired against him, that a man would marvel whereof the change grew. And surely the occasion of their variance is of divers men diversely reported.

Some have I heard say, that the duke, a little before the coronation, among other things, re-

quired of the protector the duke of Hereford's lands, to which he pretended himself just inheritor. And forasmuch as the title which he claimed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title to the crown by the line of king Henry, before deprived, the protector conceived such indignation, that he rejected the duke's request with many spiteful and minatory words. Which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he never after could endure to look aright on king Richard, but ever feared his own life; so far forth, that when the protector rode through London toward his coronation, he feigned himself sick, because he would not ride with him. And the tother taking it in evil part, sent him word to rise, and come ride, or he would make him be carried. Whereupon he rode on with evil will, and that notwithstanding, on the morrow rose from the feast, feigning himself sick; and king Richard said it was done in hatred and despite of him. And they say that ever after continually each of them lived in such hatred and distrust of other, that the duke verily looked to have been murdered at Gloucester. From which nathless he in fair manner departed.

But surely some right secret at that day deny this; and many right wise men think it unlikely; (the deep dissimulating nature of those both men considered, and what need in that green world

the protector had of the duke, and in what peril the duke stood if he fell once in suspicion of the tyrant) that either the protector would give the duke occasion of displeasure, or the duke the protector occasion of mistrust. And utterly men think, that if king Richard had any such opinion conceived, he would never have suffered him to escape his hands. Very truth it is, the duke was a high-minded man, and evil could bear the glory of another; so that I have heard of some that said they saw it, that the duke, at such time as the crown was first set upon the protector's head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but wried his head another way. But men say that he was of truth not well at ease, and that both to king Richard well known, and not ill taken, nor any demand of the duke's uncourteously rejected, but he both with great gifts and high behests, in most loving and trusty manner departed at Gloucester. But soon after his coming home to Brecknock, having there in his custody, by the commandment of king Richard, doctor Morton, bishop of Ely, who, as ye before heard, was taken in the council at the Tower, waxed with him familiar. Whose wisdom abused his pride to his own deliverance and the duke's destruction.

The bishop was a man of great natural wit, very well learned, and honorable in behaviour,

lacking no wise ways to win favor. He had been fast upon the part of king Henry, while that part was in wealth, and nathless left it not nor forsook it in wo, but fled the realm with the queen and the prince ; while king Edward had the king in prison, never came home but to the field. After which lost, and the party utterly subdued, the tother for his fast faith and wisdom not only was content to receive him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thenceforth both in secret trust and very special favor. Which he nothing deceived. For he being, as ye have heard, after king Edward's death, first taken by the tyrant for his truth to the king, found the mean to set this duke in his top, joined gentlemen together in aid of king Henry, devising first the marriage between him and king Edward's daughter ; by which his faith declared, and good service to both his masters at once, with infinite benefit to the realm, by the conjunction of those two bloods in one, whose several titles had long inquieted the land, he fled the realm, went to Rome, never minding more to meddle with the world ; till the noble prince king Henry the Seventh gat him home again, made him archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, whereunto the Pope joined the honor of cardinal. Thus living many days in as much honor as one man might well wish,

ended them so godly, that his death with God's mercy well changed his life.

This man, therefore, as I was about to tell you, by the long and often alternate proof, as well of prosperity as adverse fortune, had gotten by great experience, the very mother and mistress of wisdom, a deep insight in politic worldly drifts. Whereby perceiving now this duke glad to commune with him, fed him with fair words and many pleasant praises. And perceiving, by the process of their communications, the duke's pride now and then balk out a little bred of envy toward the glory of the king, and thereby feeling him ethe to fall out if the matter were well handled, he craftily sought the ways to prick him forward, taking always the occasion of his coming, and so keeping himself close within his bounds, that he rather seemed him to follow him than to lead him. For when the duke first began to praise and boast the king, and show how much profit the realm should take by his reign, my lord Morton answered, "Surely, my lord, folly were it for me to lie; for if I would swear the contrary, your lordship would not, I ween, believe, but that if the world would have gone as I would have wished, king Henry's son had had the crown, and not king Edward. But after that God had ordered him to lese it, and king Edward to reign, I was never so mad that I would

with a dead man strive against the quick. So was I to king Edward faithful chaplain, and glad would have been that his child had succeeded him. Howbeit, if the secret judgment of God have otherwise provided, I purpose not to spurn against a prick, nor labor to set up that God pull-eth down. And as for the late protector and now king——.” And even there he left, saying that he had already meddled too much with the world, and would from that day meddle with his book and his beads, and no farther.

Then longed the duke sore to hear what he would have said, because he ended with the king, and there so suddenly stopped; and exhorted him so familiarly between the twain, to be bold to say whatsoever he thought, whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt, and peradventure more good than he would ween, and that himself intended to use his faithful secret advice and counsel; which he said was the only cause for which he procured of the king to have him in his custody, where he might reckon himself at home; and else had he been put in the hands of them, with whom he should not have founden the like favor. The bishop right humbly thanked him and said, “In good faith, my lord, I love not much to talk much of princes, as thing not all out of peril, though the word be without fault, forasmuch as it shall not be taken

as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the prince to conster it. And ever I think on Æsop's tale, that when the lion had proclaimed that on pain of death there should none horned beast abide in that wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh, fled away a great pace. The fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that haste. And he answered, "In faith I neither wot nor reck, so I were once hence, because of this proclamation made of horned beasts." "What fool!" quod the fox, "thou mayst abide well enough; the lion meant not by thee, for it is none horn that is in thine head." "No, marry," quod he, "that wot I well enough. But what and he call it a horn, where am I then?"

The duke laughed merrily at the tale, and said, "My lord, I warrant you, neither the lion nor the boar shall pick any matter at any thing here spoken, for it shall never come near their ear." "In good faith, sir," said the bishop, "if it did, the thing that I was about to say, taken as well as afore God I meant it, could deserve but thank; and yet, taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little good, and you to less." Then longed the duke yet much more to wit what it was. Whereupon the bishop said, "In good faith, my lord, as for the late protector, sith he is now king in possession,

I purpose not to dispute his title. But for the weal of this realm, whereof his grace hath now the governance, and whereof I am myself one poor member, I was about to wish, that to those good abilities whereof he hath already right many, little needing my praise, it might yet have pleased God, for the better store, to have given him some of such other excellent virtues, meet for the rule of a realm, as our Lord hath planted in the person of your grace."

Here the narrative breaks off abruptly. A continuation of it, however, may be found in Grafton's Chronicle, who, it is supposed, had access to the same sources of original information which were open to Sir Thomas More.

GLOSSARY.

A.

Abusions, *frauds, delusions.*
Accoupling, *union, marriage.*
Adhibit, *admitted.*
Advouteress, *adulteress.*
Advoutry, *adultery.*
Afire, *on fire.*
Afore, *before.*
Aggrieved, *exasperated, aggravated.*
Allective, *attraction, enticement, charm, lure.*
Allies, *kindred, relatives.*
Alow, *low, in a low place.*
Almoise, *alms, charity, mercy.*
Amercement, *pecuniary penalty.*
Amove, *remove.*
And, *if.*
Appointed, *determined, resolved.*
Astonied, *astonished.*
Avoided, *removed, retired, withdrawn.*

B.

Balk out, *to belch, to emit.*
Ben, *are, be, been, have been.*
Bend, *band, party, company.*
Bereft, *took away, stole, pret. of bereave.*

Bestowed, *placed*.

Betake, betook, *to give, to bestow, to deliver*.

Bide, *to dwell, to remain*.

Boorly, *rough, coarse*.

Boustious, *boisterous*.

Brast, pret. of *burst*.

Bred, *breath*.

Briganders, *coats of mail*.

Bulls, *letters from the Pope*.

Bushment, *a thicket, a cluster*.

C.

Can, *know*.

Chamberer, *an intimate companion*.

Color, *pretence*.

Comen, part. of *come*.

Conster, *to construe, understand, explain*.

Could, *knew*.

Coumpinable, *familiar, affable*.

Covetise, *covetousness, avarice*.

Cunning, *skilful, knowing, learned*.

D.

Deluded, *frustrated*.

Dempt, *deemed*.

Devoir, *duty*.

Devolute, *devolved, descended*.

Dispense, *expense*.

Dissimuler, *dissembler*.

Dolor, *grief, sorrow*.

Dolorous, *mournful, melancholy*.

Doublet, *waistcoat*.

Doubtuous, *doubtful*.

Draught, a *water-closet*, a *privy*.
Drifts, *impulse*, *influence*, *advice*, *intent*, *design*, *plan*.
Duresse, *constraint*, *confinement*, *imprisonment*.

E.

Eftsoons, *again*, *presently*, *forthwith*, *quickly*.
Egal, *equal*.
Eke, *also*, *likewise*, *besides*.
Embassiate, *embassy*.
Encheason, *cause*, *reason*, *occasion*.
Enemious, *hostile*, *belonging to an enemy*.
Ensample, *example*, *instance*.
Ensured, *betrothed*, *pledged*.
Erst, *first*, *for the first time*.
Estates, *persons of high rank*, *noblemen*.
Estrange, *strange*, *foreign*.
Ethe, *easy*.
Eyen, *eyes*.

F.

Fain, *glad*.
Fantasy, *fancy*, *humor*, *inclination*.
Fantasieth, *imagines*, *creates*.
Farder, *loath*, *unwilling*.
Favor, *countenance*, *feature*.
Fet, *fetched*.
Field, *battle*.
Flockmell, *in a flock*.
Frotting, *rubbing*.
Founden, *found*.

G.

Gaincalled, *recalled*.
Gat, *got*.

Gay, *light, trifling.*

Gins, *snares.*

Groundly, *upon principles, solidly.*

H.

Hap, *to happen.*

Hardiness, *courage, bravery.*

Harness, *armour.*

Harnessed, *armed, clad, arrayed.*

Harried, *hurried, dragged.*

Hawsed, *enhanced, increased.*

Hearken, *to hear, to listen to.*

Heart-brenning, *heart-burning.*

Holp, holpen, *helped, pret. and part. of help.*

Homely, *rude, rough.*

I.

Importable, *intolerable.*

Incontinent, *immediately.*

Infortune, *misfortune.*

Infoundeth, *implanteth.*

Inkling, *hint, intimation.*

Inquieted, *disquieted, disturbed.*

Irriting, *irritating, provoking.*

Inure, *used to, habitual, accustomed.*

J.

Jubard, *to jeopard, hazard, endanger.*

Jubardy, *jeopardy.*

K.

Kind, *nature, natural affection.*

Kindly, *natural, legitimate.*

Kirtle, *a gown.*

Knownen, old part. of *know*.

L.

Lacked, *needed, wanted*.

Lashed out, *lavished, squandered*.

Laud, *praise, glory*.

Leger, *slight*.

Lese, *to lose*.

Lesing, *losing*.

Lessed, *diminished*.

Let, *to hinder, to prevent, to omit, to fail*.

Let, *hindrance*.

Lief, *dear, beloved*.

Liefer, *more willing, rather*.

Lightly, *easily, readily, quickly*.

Like, *to please*.

List, *to please*.

Longing, *belonging*.

M.

Manquellers, *manslayers, murderers*.

Maugre, *in spite of*.

Meet, *meetly, fit, proper, suitable, adapted*.

Mendment, *amendment*.

Mind, *to intend*.

Minish, *to diminish*.

Misprision, *concealment of known treason*.

Mo, plural of *more*.

N.

Nathless, *nevertheless*.

Nere, *not, never*.

O.

Or, *ere, before.*

Ought, *owed.*

P.

Pallet, *a small, mean bed.*

Parfitly, *perfectly.*

Percase, *perchance, perhaps.*

Perceive, *understand.*

Pill, *to rob, to plunder.*

Poll, *to plunder.*

Prevent, *to anticipate, to arrive before.*

Provision, *prudence, foresight.*

Puissance, *power, force.*

Puissant, *powerful, strong, forcible.*

Q.

Quailed, *quelled, crushed, defeated, failed.*

Quick, *living.*

Quod, *quoth, said.*

R.

Rase, *to pass along the surface of a thing, with striking or rubbing it at the same time.*

Reave, *to take away violently, to plunder.*

Reavers, *robbers, plunderers.*

Recidivation, *relapse.*

Reck, *to care.*

Right, *very.*

Rivelled, *wrinkled.*

Roar, *uproar, disturbance.*

Rooms, *places, offices.*

Rought, *cared.*

Rowne, *to whisper.*

Rud, *redness, blush, bloom.*

S.

Sad, *grave, serious, mature.*

Sample, *example.*

Scant, *scarcely, hardly.*

Seely, *simple, innocent.*

Shrift, *confession to a priest.*

Shrive, *to confess to a priest.*

Sith, *sithen, since.*

Slipper, *unstable, inconstant.*

Smored, *smothered.*

Sore, *ardently, eagerly, exceedingly, vehemently, severely.*

Sounded, *sounded.*

Sowdan, *a sultan.*

Sowter, *a cobbler.*

Spials, *spies.*

States, *great personages, peers, noblemen.*

Strake, *struck, pret. of strike.*

Strange, *unwilling, loath.*

Strengths, *strongholds, forces.*

Sure, *pledged, betrothed.*

T.

Tallages, *imposts.*

Tender, *to care for, to regard tenderly.*

Thinken, *to think.*

Togged, *plucked, pulled with violence.*

Tone, *the one.*

Tormentors, *officers, executioners.*

Tother, *the other.*

Toward, *near to, ready.*

Towardness, *docility, readiness to do or learn.*

Trow, *to think, to imagine.*

Tuition, *superintendence, guardianship, defence, protection.*

Twain, *two.*

V.

Viand, *food.*

Void, *to quit, leave, flee.*

Voided, *failed, defeated.*

W.

Ware, *aware, careful, cautious.*

Weal, *prosperity.*

Wealth, *welfare, good.*

Ween, *to think, to imagine.*

Weerish, *weak.*

Went, *thought, pret. of ween.*

Wise, *way, manner.*

Wist, *knew.*

Wit, *to know.*

Wite, *blame, reproach, wrong.*

Witting, *knowledge.*

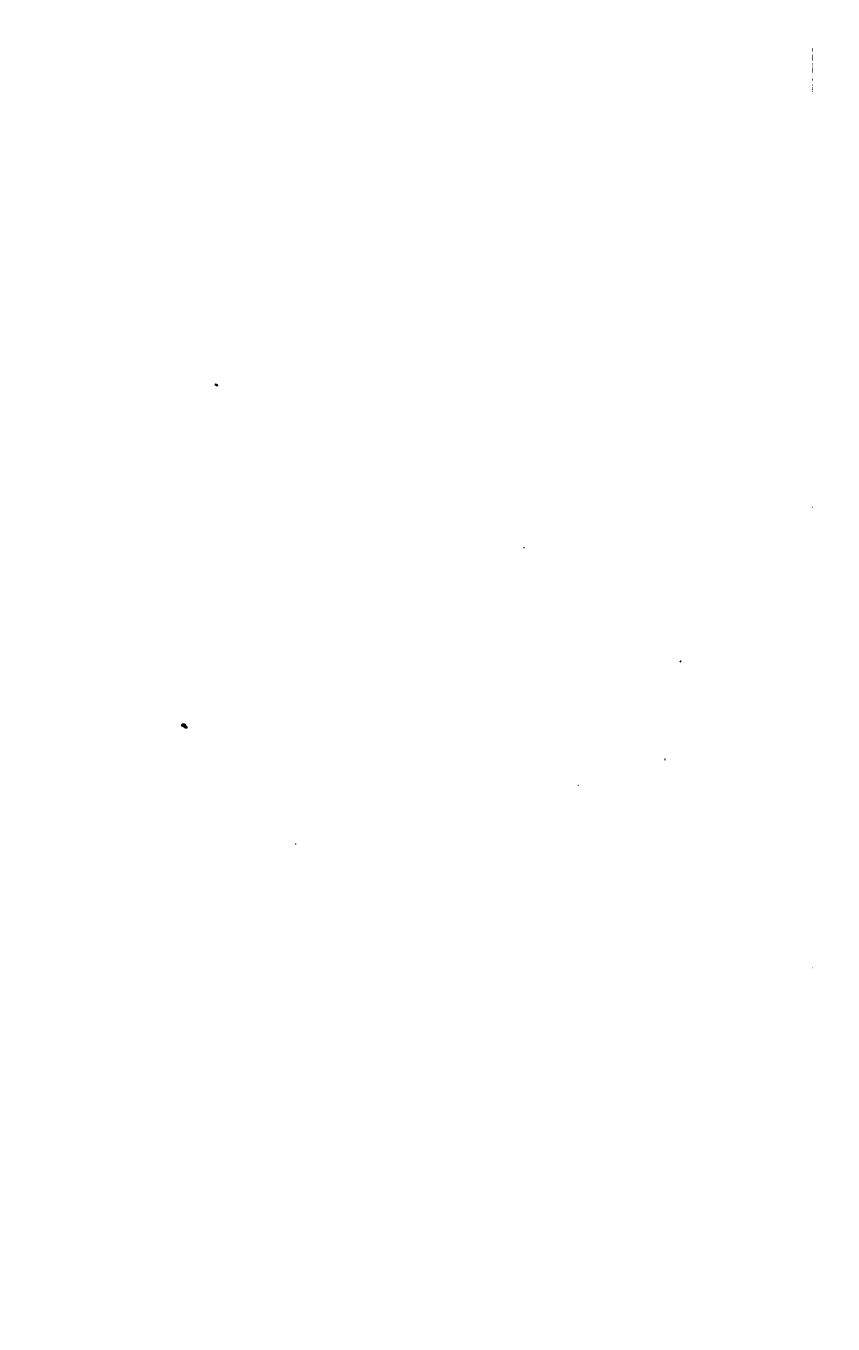
World, *state of things.*

Wot, *to know.*

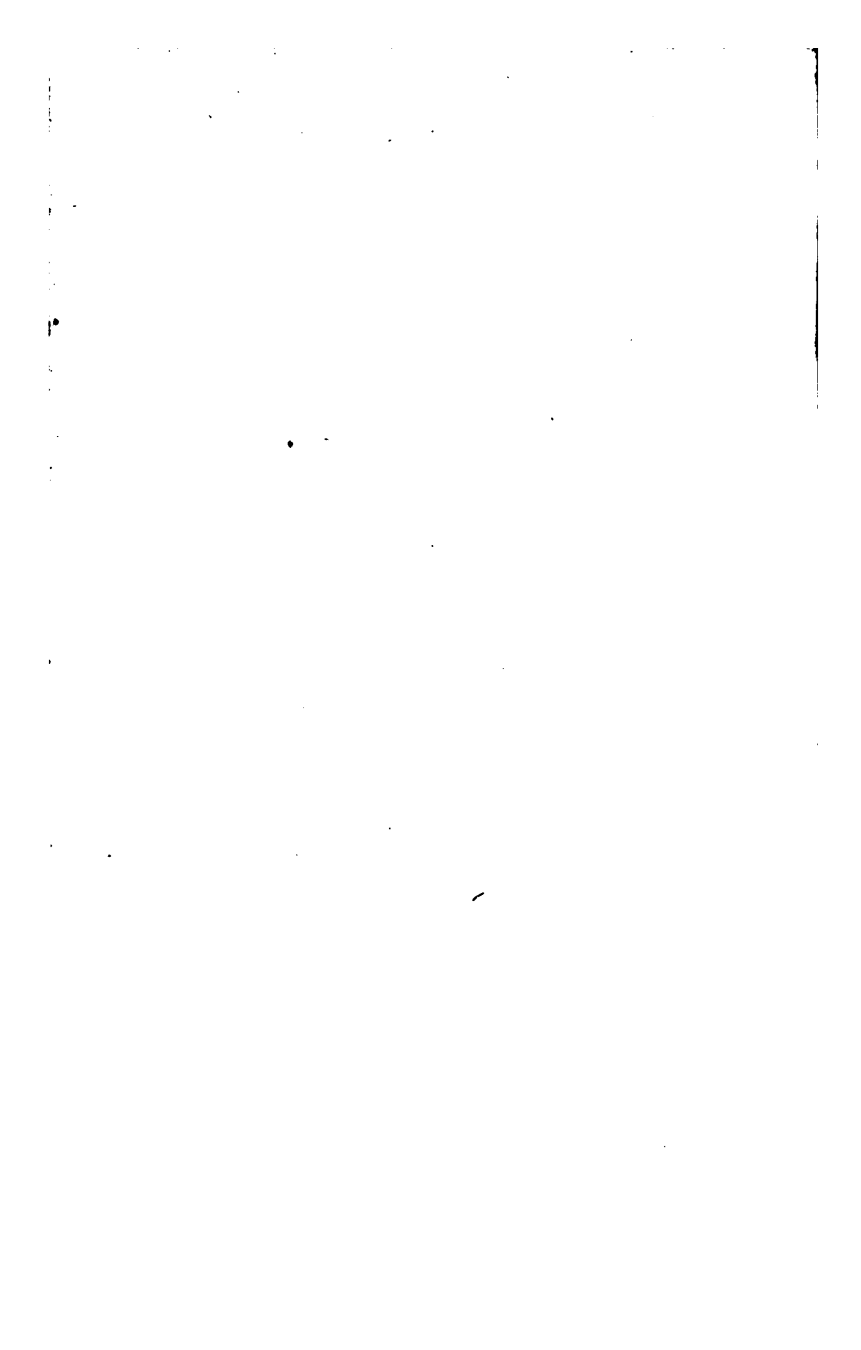
Wried, *turned.*

THE END.











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